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Indian Costume

(Bhāratīya vesabhūsā)

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Indian Costume

(bhāratīya veṣabhūṣā)

BY

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Professor and Head of the Dept. of Sociology,
University of Bombay.

THE POPULAR BOOK DEPOT

BOMBAY 7

1951

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Preface

Costume, whatever might be its origins, provides the visible index of the homogeneity and the unity of a people or their absence. Two Japanese in their national costume, hailing from places widely separated in their own country, on seeing each other at a distance in the streets of London will feel the sentiment of oneness much before they have a chance of exchanging a word. Language as evidence of unity takes rank after costume. One has to be within speaking distance of another to get aware of his linguistic affiliation. In most civilizations costume connotes something more than mere clothing. Very often it expresses some of the structure and aspirations of a society. In modern occidental civilization it has grown into something more than a mere accessory designed to set off physical beauty. Costume has been functioning as a fashioner of personality and has tended to be cultivated as an art. Study of so important a trait of culture in the history of a civilization, which has proved itself to be one of the stablest, should be both interesting and instructive. To my countrymen the book has an additional appeal. They will find in it enough food for thought about the past and present diversity of dress and adequate data for the evolution of a national costume.

I am thankful to Dr. G. R. Pradhan, Dr. Mrs. C. A. Hate, Dr. M. N. Srinivas, Dr. I. P. Desai and Dr. A. J. Agarkar, who, during their tenures as Research Assistants in Sociology, enabled me to clarify a number of details through their field-work. Dr. L. N. Chapekar, the present Research Assistant, has kindly added the index. Mr. Terence Nunes of the Gem Printing Works deserves praise for his neat and prompt work.

On a number of knotty points whether of interpretation of drapery seen on the pictures or of clarification of 'sāri' drapery current in recent and contemporary times my wife has been my valuable guide. The design on the jacket is my daughter's epitome of the book painted by herself.

G. S. GHURYE.

Khar,
Bombay 21.
10th Nov., 1950.

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1

Introduction

Costume interested poets, popular philosophers, novelists and other observers of society much earlier than the professional or serious student of civilization and the historian of dress. Almost every literary language contains at least a few sayings bearing on dress. In English the popular saying "God makes and apparel shapes" states in a piquant, though exaggerated, manner the truth which Shakespeare has enshrined in the oft-quoted clause 'The apparel oft proclaims the man.'[1] We may conclude from such expressions both in folk-lore and literature that, to the English, costume is an important adjunct of personality, its final fashioner. Those who understand this function of dress cannot be slow to appreciate its concealing qualities. In another mood, therefore, they advise confiding humanity to beware of fine dress, to penetrate below costume to the reality it clothes. An English proverb runs: "Fine clothes oftentimes hide a base descent", while another says, "Fine dressing is a foul house swept before the doors." A Spanish adage more frankly and practically advises a young man to choose his wife not on a Sunday, when she is usually dressed in her finery, but on a Saturday, when she is devoid of this extra help.[2]

Recognition of the importance of costume as a fashioner of personality has not blinded the folk-mind or the poetic vision to the realization that natural beauty does not need this help for it to shine. The Scottish saying "A bonny bride is sune buskit", meaning that a good-looking bride is soon dressed, voices the same view that the Portuguese adage, signifying, 'a well-formed figure needs no cloak'[3] expresses in a more general form. And the poet Thompson wrote towards the end of the 19th century the following lines, which are almost echoes of Kālidāsa's famous description of Śakuntalā.[4] "Her polished limbs veiled in a simple robe, their best attire. Beyond the pomp of dress; for loveliness Needs not the foreign aid of ornament, But is, when unadorn'd, adorn'd the most."[5]

Dickens, who is hardly a proper philosophizer, finds himself drawn into musing over fashion, an aspect of costume which by his time was coming into

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prominence. Omer, who figures as a draper, tailor and undertaker in *The Personal History of David Copperfield*, observes[6]: "But fashions are like human beings. They come in, nobody knows when, why, or how. Everything is like life, in my opinion, if you look at it in that point of view". Fashion is complex, evanescent and hence mysterious like life itself, whose explanation it is vain to seek. The novelist philosophizing about fashion is unable to shed light on it. But a contemporary of his who had a historical, critical and philosophical bent of mind, in his rather cryptic and difficult language, illuminated the subject in a remarkably comprehensive manner. Thomas Carlyle starting to write a philosophy of clothes in his *Sartor Resartus* gave us their complete sociology in embryo.

As it happens sometimes with inspired writers, he puts forward a view about the origin of clothes, which, later professional students of clothes are agreed, was their first and fundamental function. Ornamentation rather than warmth or decency was the primary incentive for wearing clothes. The philosophic mood likens clothes to trappings and symbols. Clothes and bodies are externals beneath and beyond which lies the reality. A student of clothes understanding this must needs penetrate through them to the underlying truth, to the reality behind appearance. If the trappings-aspect of clothes engenders a transcendental outlook and thus brings out their insignificance in the true Hindu manner, their symbols-aspect stresses their psychological and social significance. Clothes make up part of the wearer's personality. They enshrine and typify ideas of class and rank. Colour has not only a social significance but also betokens temper and heart; and cut betokens intellect and talent. Altogether Carlyle is convinced of the psychological and social significance of clothes to such an extent that in his peculiarly exaggerated manner he opines that "Society is founded upon Cloth". Naturally he finds himself in agreement with Swift regarding the significance of tailors, viz., that "the Tailor is not only a man, but something of a Creator or Divinity." If Montesquieu wrote *Esprit de Coutumes* (Spirit of Customs), though he called the book *Esprit de Lois* (Spirit of Laws), one should be able to write its analogue *Esprit de Costumes* (Spirit of Clothes). Thus opines Carlyle.

In the expansive era of the second and third quarters of the 19th century serious study of this topic came within the purview of the encyclopaedic sociologist Herbert Spencer. He looks upon dress as a collateral development of the badge. Class distinctions in respect of dress were thus inevitable. He draws attention to the distinction of particular colours being used by the Roman royalty and by the

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mediæval French nobility. Distinctness in the stratification of clothing accompanies rigidity of social stratification. Where classes tend to be loose or fluid dress etiquette begins to be ignored. Under such circumstances for some time at least sumptuary laws are in evidence. With the decline of militancy and authority in social organization the tendency for ceremonial government to give way to fashion becomes more and more pronounced. With the establishment of industrial society it is supplanted by fashion which genetically speaking must be studied as an aspect of ceremonial institutions. Though it is a form of social control, it is difficult to deal with it in a systematic manner. It is based on imitation and is a method of asserting one's equality with others who look upon themselves as superiors. It has tended towards equalization, serving to obliterate marks of class-distinction and favouring the growth of individuality. [7] Fashion which is many a time derided by ordinary people is thus proved by the sociologist to be a significant social index. This is a distinct advance over the viewpoint that fashion is a mystery.

As the next important contribution to our understanding of costume and fashion may be mentioned the views of the German sociologist, Muller-Lyer. Comparing the dress of European antiquity with that of modern times he stresses three important differences. Modern European dress is characterized by complexity, by its being rather fitted to the person of the wearer and by its continual change, called 'Fashion', a phenomenon, Muller-Lyer contends, was unknown to the ancients. Lastly, it may be pointed out that as formerly the dress of a people very largely depended upon the climate of its country, the products of its industry and the nature of its customs, it was national and characteristic, whereas in modern times costume has tended to transcend the limitations of climate, material and custom and to become international. Muller-Lyer thought that the era of national costumes had ended in Europe at the fall of the Roman Empire but had still continued in oriental countries like China. The fashion-changes in European dress began in the 14th century and have eversince become quicker and quicker. He reveals a social aspect of fashion which is just the reverse of that stressed by Spencer. Quick changes of fashion is the method adopted by plutocratic society to outstrip the equalizing tendency of the lower classes. The richer classes in order to keep up their distinction from the lower soon change the cut etc. of their garments so that the poorer classes, which have to wear out their previous clothes before they can think of affording a change, always are left behind in the competition. They are thus fairly effectively distinguished from their social superiors. Muller-Lyer distinguishes three epochs and three types of clothing characteristic of them. In the first and the natural epoch clothing was

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tropical ; in the next epoch of national dress clothing was natural, cultural and sub-tropical ; and in the third epoch, which is the era of fashionable dress, the nature of clothing is more and more influenced by the North. From this analysis he concludes that though clothes may 'make' some persons, they cannot 'make' mankind. Yet "as man reveals himself at his greatest and at his meanest in his gods, so does he reveal himself in his clothes". [8]

As the study of Greek and Roman antiquities progressed, special attention came to be given to specific items of the classical culture. And next to art the subject of Greek and Roman costume provided an interesting topic. Fully illustrated separate volumes on these costumes like that of Hope began to appear and influence students of culture. Evolution of European costume, the pedigree of coats, hats and gowns claimed their votaries. Analytical study of human costume in general was not slow to arrive. C. H. Stratz was one of the earliest to suggest a classification and Muller-Lyer was another. Webb's book *The Heritage of Dress* is a good example of those on the evolution of European dress. The general interest thus created in the study of costume is reflected in such a fact as that an architect, Allan Poe Newcombe, pointed out, some years before Webb wrote on the subject, that a curious resemblance existed and exists between headgear and habitations or other buildings of a people. Webb adduced a number of illustrations and generalised from his data the dictum that styles of architecture show a close relation to the headgear of the period in particular and to its costume in general. [9] Gerald Heard elaborates the relationship between costume and architecture much more than any other writer on dress and is convinced about the positive causality and negative association. Architecture, which is generally determined by climate and natural resources, conditions the dress of a people. He bases his observations principally on the earlier classification of costume into two varieties, viz., gravitational, which depends on the natural fall of the materials made into the garments ; and anatomic, which irrespective of the natural fall is based on cutting and shaping the garment to the lines of the body. The people whose costume falls in the first category, i. e. those who love a merely flowing dress, hardly show any architecture worth speaking of. Within the category of anatomic dress further correlations between costume and architecture are marked and the tailor is placed beside the architect. So convinced does he feel about the causal connection between architecture and costume that when he finds it necessary to recognize two further varieties of dress which fall in neither of the two principal categories he dilates on this relationship as well. The costume of China is neither gravitational or flowing nor anatomic or fitting. He designates it as rational, by which

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he means perfectly utilitarian. The Chinese, who early evolved a national dress, for some reason avoided the extremes of allowing it to follow the fall of the material alone or the line of the body. Though the dress cannot be called beautiful, it is consciously utilitarian and fully useful. Naturally they have changed it very little. So too, opines Heard, has their architecture, which is utilitarian, changed little. Modern European costume, particularly the male coat, is a compromise between gravitational and anatomic clothing and as such is another variety of costume. Heard is prepared to prophesy its further evolution in the light of the architectural trend evinced not only in the buildings but also in the ocean liners and the motor cars.[10]

Before carrying further this brief story of the unravelling of the importance of costume in European society we shall refer to two features which so far have been unique. First, from the 17th century onwards doctors have been writing articles and books on the subject of dress with, more or less, the one central idea of disapproving, on considerations of health, the fashionable dress of the time. The campaign is usually directed towards the females. When their dress was voluminous doctors tended to opine that it smothered the wearers. When it was scanty they retorted that it exposed them. Some declare that hats cause baldness, others that belts are bad for stomach, while still others discuss whether one kind of clothes invites colds more than another. Clendening, from whose book *The Care and Feeding of Adults* the above observations are gathered, himself discusses clothing in one chapter. He remarks on the tremendous seductive value of the female dress. The swish of the crepe-dress takes a young male off his feet into the marriage bureau irrespective of all other and solid considerations. "Thus clothes become responsible for the ever-rising birth-rate. In that respect they have a distinct medical and obstetrical, if not hygienic, interest." Dress is connected not only with morals but with social hygiene too, according to a lady doctor, Dr. Throckmorton. Clendening is rightly critical of her observations which are in the nature of a rhapsody. He exhorts a judicious use of the corset both for the female as well as the male and insists that it is not merely the healthfulness of clothes but their beauty too that must be considered. Two doctors writing on sleep not only refer to the influence of clothing on the wearer's sleep but also dilate upon the healthfulness of the newer and lighter dress of girls and women and still further on the significance of this feature for human history and civilization. Clothing, through a female dominated civilization, may remake the course of human history. But if such a fashion does not start or common sense does not prevail in respect of men's clothing, the doctors assert "clothes may ruin man."[11]

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The other feature is the movements for a conscious change in dress started by individuals and associations. Beau Brummell with his remarkable career started the movement in men's dress at the beginning of the 19th century and was later followed by others who made the movement a group-business. In respect of female dress the vogue of sports and of the bicycle introduced a change which was taken up and made into a movement for dress-reform under the ideological incentive of the femininist emancipation. Some magazines and at least two or three societies or leagues have been furthering the cause of rational or changed dress since 1880 onwards. Not only rationalists but æsthetes, athletes and physiologists have joined the ranks of dress-reformers.[12]

The labours of professional students of dress, of anthropologists and of psychologists, all of whom have very liberally contributed their quota during the last thirty years, have enlightened us not only on the evolution of dress in general and European dress in particular but have brought much better and fuller corroboration of some of the statements of the earlier inspired or scientific writers on that subject. And at least one student of the 19th century European dress has complemented our knowledge and understanding of the European female costume by telling his readers 'why women wear clothes.' Cunnington, the author, who has bared the female heart, tells us that woman dresses for the man. And Laver, who remarks on the ever-changing fashions of female clothing in contrast with the male dress, which generally tends to be a uniform, observes that even through that changeful flux runs a common and steadfast purpose, viz., the everpresent desire to seduce the male. Internal competition in this recurrent drama of the female actors leads sometimes to the success of the younger and slender females and sometimes to that of the older and matronish ones, with consequent reflection in the female costume of the period. There is always an attempt made to conceal the evidence of age. Flugel, the psycho-analytic psychologist, addes to this purpose the negative one of guarding against the possibility of homosexual attraction.[13]

In her endeavour to pursue her seductive purpose in her costume, European woman naturally has not only dressed herself for man but also has reacted to his dress. When in the Renaissance period man had his cod-piece to advertise his sex, woman tried to produce the appearance of being always pregnant. It is only after her emancipation, which was more or less completed by the World War I, that woman imitated the habit of man in order to look like him, to obliterate, rather than to emphasize, her sex. The situation was interpreted as a challenge to man but did

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not continue at that tempo long enough.[14] It makes the following observation of Scheinfeld profoundly significant: "No social force to-day is more potent in causing women to think differently from men than is the load of fine feathers on their backs."[15]

I have purposely described the common purpose of female fashions as seduction of the male. For sexual stimulation and attraction do not necessarily result from advertising the sex. They ensue out of artful suggestion, and seduction is such suggestion. European female has attempted to achieve her aim by exposure or concealment, through emphasis or suppression of one or other of the erogenous zones having secondary sexual characters, as well as of some other parts of the body. In accordance with man's appreciation of the convexity of the bosom and the hips woman has attended to these erogenous zones with great care. From early times artificial breast has been an important accessory of the female toilet. Though man has never very much admired the concavity of the waist yet for various reasons woman has attended to its cultivation as assiduously. Possession by European woman of the piece of apparel called the corset has enabled her to mould her bosom, waist and the hips much more easily than would otherwise have been possible. Here she has had a distinct advantage over her Indian sister if the latter had the same objectives. Significantly, renunciation of the corset synchronizes with woman's emancipation. Head, too, is exploited by European female with the help of a piece of apparel, in the possession of which she is even more fortunate. For this piece which is her headgear, her bonnet or her hat, is, essentially, the same as man's hat. The suggestion that she might desire to convey through her headgear is readily understood by man as he himself has its notation, his hat having always meant even more for him. If the angle of the male hat has a remarkable implication for his personality and if its tipping backwards is capable of shattering his respectability, the tilt of the female headgear is a quality of supreme importance whose significance is not likely to be lost in the quarter where it is most directed. The understanding that the face of a person expresses what its possessor desires her to be taken for has led to the appreciation of face as the ultimate arbiter of a woman's sex-appeal. This putting on of face is largely determined by the woman's hat. And the total ensemble of the costume, too, depends on the hat. Hat thus becomes the most informative and decisive item in European woman's attire. Hands and legs, though without secondary sexual characters, have been pressed into service as seductive items with the help of appropriate pieces of apparel. It is an addition to her wardrobe which European female owes more to climate than to anything else.

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European woman's appreciation of symmetry and proportions in costume has gone so deep that she has come to realize the 'unfortunate' fact that her body offends against good proportions. As it is broad at the hips it gives the idea of 'top heaviness.' Rotundity of the hips is appreciated but not their breadth. According to Cunnington "from time immemorial she has tried to conceal the fact by the art of costume." Such attempts led to the invention of the skirt whose bottom-end is much wider than its top. Such a skirt removes the top heaviness.[16] Perhaps this is the reason why trousers failed to grip European woman though she toyed with them for a time.

The social significance of costume is realized and brought out by most writers on the subject. Norris, the professional student, writing in 1924, being convinced that throughout history the evolution of costume has been influenced by culture and events of the time, prefaces each chapter of his book with some historical data of the period. Cunnington, concerned with laying bare the female motives for dress, not only points out the former existence of sartorial differentiation between the unmarried and the matron or between the wife and widow but also notes the fact of class-distinctions in costume until the industrial era. Flugel, avowing to present the psychology of clothes, is inevitably drawn to certain features of its sociology too. Thus he informs his readers that there is a certain parallelism between dress and houses as well as interior decoration. While discussing modesty, which is one of the motives for dress, he points out that the particular form of modesty or the specific part of the body to which it is attached not only varies from people to people, but also differs from age to age in the same people. Naturally he refers to the phenomenon of costume reflecting the tone or climate of the age. The influences that mould costume, according to him, are not only human desires but human institutions as well. Well can one understand why the psychologist of clothes almost at the beginning of his dissertation, after informing his readers that dress tells them a person's sex, occupation, social standing and nationality, states its deeper significance in the following words: "Clothes, though seemingly mere extraneous appendages, have entered into the very core of our existence as social beings." Laver, the historian of European taste and fashion during a century and a half, has contributed to the sociology of clothes more than any other writer. The increased tempo of modern changes of fashion only reflects the social fact that class-barriers are finding it difficult to stand in the contemporary scene. Female dress has proved itself to be an even more specific index. It has not only reflected the vogue of great fertility and large family but has also indicated the prevalence of birth-control and small family

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as pointed out by both Laver and Cunnington. Laver notes its indicative capacity for the sex-morals of an age. With one type of female costume is associated an age of prostitution, with another, one of promiscuity. Laver's conclusion regarding the social significance of clothes reminds one of the century old words of Carlyle. "The hopes and fears of a whole society are reflected in the cut of a dress."[17]

The intimate connection between dress and personality hinted at in some of the popular sayings and definitely asserted by Carlyle is stressed by the German philosopher Hermann Lotze who maintains that clothing gives us an increased sense of power, a sense of the extension of self. Recently the English art-critic, Herbert Read[18], has given expression to the same truth in the following words: "Nothing is so expressive of a man as the fetishes he gathers round him–his pipe, his pens, his pocket-knife–even the pattern of his suit. Art in its widest sense is an extension of personality: a host of artificial limbs". D. B. Klein, an American led to pondering over clothes principally by the political association of coloured shirts brought to the front by the black shirts of Mussolini's followers, draws his readers' attention to the root meaning of the word *persona*, the Latin basis of person. It means a mask. And in the early days of the drama, actors presented the characters with the help of an appropriate mask. One's personality refers to the role the individual strives to play in the drama of life. Clothing selected by an individual is consequently apt to be in harmony with his idea of himself. On the other hand, the clothes we don tend to influence us within limits to act the part indicated by them, as is evidenced by uniforms. Klein therefore concludes: "In a very real sense there is an internal and external relationship between certain features of our mental life and the clothes we wear."[19]

Laver's reflections on the red-shirts, brown-shirts, black-shirts and such other uniformed private civilian armies has led him to formulate even a much wider generalization about the relation of clothes to social life. He thinks that costume-modes and the form of government are somehow intimately connected and that the modes of dress of the nineteen thirties were a reflection of the increasing dominance of totalitarianism.[20]

Laver has further demonstrated that interior decoration of houses reflects the underlying principles of current dress-fashions but with a certain time-lag. Interior decoration, being generally done when one first marries, reflects the dress-fashions of a certain period and continues the same even when the dress-fashions have changed,

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as it is not renovated every now and then though one's dress is put off and new one taken up. This explains the temporal lag between the style of internal house-decoration and current fashions of costume. The same is the case with architecture as the mirror of the fundamental principles of costume. Laver points out that "short-skirted, short-haired buildings" are being put up more than ten years after those fashions disappeared from the field of costume.[21] Costume is thus the gauge of taste. The sociology of costume demonstrates the relativity of æsthetics as the sociology of customs has established the relativity of ethics.

It is seen from this brief statement of the attitudes towards and studies of dress in Western society that not only have clothes a history almost comparable to natural history, not only have they a psychology, individual and social, but also a sociology of their own. This sociology proves costume to be a gauge of taste, a fashioner of personality, and a mirror of social life.

It is just because the importance of costume in Western society is so great that even in the second quarter of the 20th century in the socially free atmosphere of the United States of America one of the foremost of contemporary literary figures, Sinclair Lewis, intersperses in his *Free Air* observations on problems arising out of them. "Now of all the cosmic problems yet unsolved, not cancer nor the future of poverty are the flustering questions, but these twain: which is worse, not to wear evening clothes at a party at which you find everyone else dressed, or to come in evening clothes to a house where, it proves, they are never worn? And: Which is worse not to tip when a tip has been expected; or to tip, when the tip is an insult?" The hero of the novel, Milt gets initiated through observation into the importance of certain items of apparel, and the process is thus described: "His attitude to socks had lacked in reverence and technique. He had not perceived that socks may be as sound a symbol of culture as the 'cello or even demountable rims. He had been able to think with respect of ties and damp pique' collars secured by gold safety-pins; and to the belted fawn overcoat that the St. Klopstock banker's son had brought back from St. Paul, he had given jealous attention. But now he graduated into differential socks." Costume as a mark of distinction is competitive; yet on the whole it is an art, and as such must be governed by canons of art. Sinclair Lewis gives expression to this aspect of dress through the heroine Claire, who observes: "Overdressing is just ten degrees worse than underdressing."[22]

The attitude of Western society towards costume is not universally met with in all civilized societies. The famous Chinese litterateur Lin Yutang has expounded

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the Chinese philosophy of dress as consisting in trying to conceal the human form. And he upholds it with his own arguments. First, the human body being essentially like that of the monkey does not bear or deserve being revealed. Second, the Chinese dress levelling the great and the small, equalizing the beautiful and the ugly as it does is more democratic than the Western dress.[23] Reflection will convince one that it is not the force of these arguments that could have convinced Lin Yutang about the superiority of Chinese dress so much as his basic attitude towards costume. His description of Western dress as revealing is not quite correct. As I shall presently make it clear it is anatomic costume, partially revealing and partially emphasizing. And emphasis on one part enables the dress to conceal another feature by contrast. I have referred to the view of Cunnington regarding European woman's successful attempt at concealing the greatness of the width of her hips with the help of a particular type of skirt. She has consistently made her waist appear much more concave than it really is. The coat of the male can exaggerate the breadth of his shoulders in such a manner as to lessen in appearance the girth of his waist. As for levelling the great and the small I should like to impress upon the reader the fact that if the uniform cut of the dress levelled up differences there were the varieties of materials and distinctions in colours which for ages stereotyped social differentiation. And the ugly and the beautiful cannot be equalized unless all are veiled. These arguments therefore are only the rationalizations of a mind which in its national heritage attaches very scant significance to dress. Lin Yutang's dictum thus brings to our view the Chinese attitude to dress which is almost exactly the opposite of the European.

For a correct interpretation of a people's attitude towards costume it is desirable to have as clear and precise a classification of dress as is possible at this stage. The most illuminating classification for our purposes is the one which divides human costume into two great classes: The first class comprises all costume which is preponderently distinguished by its affording scope to the natural fall of the material and is designated gravitational. The other class is called anatomic and principally follows the body–line. We have seen from Heard's description of the Chinese and the modern European dresses that this twofold classification of human costume does not properly accommodate the dresses of many civilized peoples. Most costumes are mixed in respect of the features of the natural fall of the material and of the fitting the body-line. For proper classification of them further specification is necessary. In one part of the body the costume may strictly follow the body-line, in another it may allow full play to the natural fall of the material and in still another it may

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combine the two features, while in another part of the body the costume instead of fitting the existing body-line may by its volume and cut transform it into one more conformable to ideals. We shall do well, therefore, to specify different parts of the body covered by dress, to consider the particular pieces of apparel donned on those separately, and then to attempt a meaningful classification.

I think the body may be divided into five parts for this purpose. First, there is the head, which is the receptacle for a piece of apparel among all the civilized peoples, at least in one if not in both sexes. Almost all head-dresses in varying degrees both tend to conceal the actual shape of the wearer's head as well as to add some height or dignity or both to the wearer's person. In its development far too many influences are concerned for it to be very useful for our present purpose, though as perhaps the greatest sartorial difference between the Western and the Indian woman its value is great. The part of the body between the lower end of the neck and that of the arm-pit should be treated as a separate region, named the chest. In almost all male dresses and in many female dresses the piece of apparel for the upper part of the body is in one piece, which covers not only the chest but also a large part of the lower trunk and even the lower part of the body upto the knees or the ankles. Yet in the modern European male costume the coat, as this unit of dress is called, is generally so cut as to shape it at the lower end of the chest. In Indian and Chinese counterparts of coats though there is no attempt at shaping yet with fairly thin material when no over-gown or-coat is used the shape of the chest is discernible through it. In the European female's dress the chest has more often than not been clearly indicated and the part of the costume has been called the blouse as distinguished from the skirt of the gown. Indian woman has worn for the last two thousand years a unit piece of apparel to cover her chest only. That this part of the human body should be treated as a unit will be accepted by most students of dress. This region is characterized by some of the secondary sexual characteristics. The breadth and squareness of the shoulders is a male anatomical trait in contradistinction to the slope and roundness of the female shoulders, just as the raised contour and rotundity of the breasts is a female characteristic in contrast to the smoothness of the male chest. Among most of the civilized peoples females have, with the help of apparel, endeavoured to exploit the erogenous nature of this zone.

Samskrt authors have never wearied of admiring not only the slender proportions of the female waist but also three horizontal folds over the upper part of the abdomen. They have also admired the depth and circularity of the navel. In

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Europe only the concavity of the female waist is recognized as a dainty trait. By treating the part of the body which is below the chest and just above the navel as one zone separately we will be able to accommodate the sentiments of both the European as well as the ancient Hindu society. 'Pyjamas' or trousers, whether worn by males or females, are held at the waist. The Indian females' garment for the lower part of the body is tied at the waist. So is the Indian male garment, the 'pyjama' or the 'dhoti'. As we have seen reason to treat chest as a separate unit-zone we should distinguish the middle part of the body, that from the lower end of the chest to somewhere above the navel, as another distinct unit-zone. The fourth unit is formed by the part which begins about the navel and ends just above the knees. It may be contended that here I have done violence to human anatomy. It may be pointed out that as the legs start at the hip-joints, giving man the biped-status, it is wrong to group a part of the trunk above the legs with a part of the legs, i. e. a divided part with an undivided one. True that the unit-zone proposed for my purposes combines an undivided part with a divided one. But my justification is the sartorial habit of civilized mankind. All lower garments — male which are separate units and female when they are separate units — are held at the waist and extend to somewhere below the knees or to the ankles. The Indian male clothing for the upper part of the body has for ages been one piece extending from the neck to somewhere above the knees. The garment for the upper part of the body of the Panjabi Hindu and the Chinese females extends from the neck to about the mid–thigh. From the sartorial viewpoint, therefore, the distinction of this fourth unit–zone is not only justified but also desirable. This is the region of the lower abdomen, the hips and the thighs. Female abdomen as an index of maternity is, in a way, an attractive region. Abdomen of the male, on the other hand, with its tendency to convexity in later years is a source of irritation and self-depreciation for him. The hips of the male, though broader than his waist, are narrower than his chest and are, therefore, in normal circumstances not only a secondary sex-characteristic but also a trait not offending against any canons of æsthetics. The female hips, on the other hand, are not only large and rotund but also broader than the chest and appear much more so when the slender waist is constricted under another compelling ideal. Samskrt poets have always admired both the rotundity as well as the breadth of the female hips. But in the West the breadth has frequently been considered to give the female body a top-heaviness. The hips have been looked upon as an important erogenous zone and females have been exploring their attractive capacities all through the ages among many of the civilized peoples. Because of the broad hips female thighs are slightly conical, while the male ones are cylindrical. The latter are joined to the

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lower legs with almost no angle; but the thighs of females are set at the knee-joints at some angle giving their possessors a 'knock-knee' effect.[24] The fifth part of the body is formed by the lower legs, below the knee joints, which, in the opinion of many people of good taste, is not pleasing to look at and is better concealed than revealed.

Taking into account only the last four parts of the body almost all civilized costumes will be found to conceal some feature, to reveal another and to emphasize some other. Even the Chinese costume, when divested of its overall gown, conforms to this description.

Modern European male costume may be classed as anatomic, emphasizing and concealing. Principally it is fitted to the body and follows its line generally. Basically it is thus anatomic. With the padding on the shoulders in the coat it exaggerates the squareness and breadth of the male shoulders. The tubular trousers cut fairly broad as they stand suspended from the waist to the ankles with straight folds, front and back, serve to conceal the actual shape of the lower legs and to emphasize the straightness of the thighs and thus to lead the eyes of the observer to the square shoulders. The female costume has tended to exaggerate the bulge of the bosom, the concavity of the waist and the rotundity of the hips. When European woman sports the hobble skirt she reveals not only the breadth of her hips but to a certain extent the conicality of her thighs. The skirt which ends just below the knees is so narrow at the lower end that from the hips down the general appearance is conical and emphasizes the fact of the thighs joining the knees at an inward angle. When, on the other hand, she wears a skirt which is wider at its lower end than at the hips, as is more often the case, she successfully conceals the great width of her hips as well as the conicality of her thighs. European female costume thus is also anatomic, emphasizing and concealing. What is tried to be concealed by the male and the female costume is not the secondary sexual characters, which have an attractive value, but some rather awkward features of the body, which are likely to militate against the attractiveness that is emphasized. European costume thus is essentially anatomic and emphasizing.

Indian costume, as the reader will feel convinced as he goes through this book, does not so readily fall into a distinct class. Indian males sport at least two more or less equally widely distributed and distinct varieties of dress. One variety, which may be described as the Northern and North-Western, consists of a long flowing coat, called 'jāmā', for the upper part of the body and a kind of narrow trousers, called 'pyjamā' or 'coraṇā', for the lower part. Both the pieces of apparel are

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tailored garments, more or less shaped to the body. The 'jāmā' is perfectly fitted at the chest and the waist and flared in its skirt which may extend from the navel to somewhere above the knees. The middle part from the navel to the knees is thus concealed very effectively; while the general form of the lower legs is more or less revealed. The other variety of the male costume may be called the Southern and North-Eastern as it is principally met with in the North-Eastern parts and in the regions south of the Narmada. It is based on 'dhoti' as the lower garment and on a kind of tunic, called the 'kuḍtā, or a kind of long coat for covering the upper part of the body. In the extreme South and South-West the 'kuḍtā' or the coat is dispensed with, a piece of cloth being used instead. The longish coat fits the chest and the waist. But the 'kuḍtā', which is not shaped to the figure and flares at the lower end, cannot be said to be at all anatomic. The 'dhoti' worn in the usual manner clearly depends on the natural fall of the material for its effect, and with the help of the lower part of the coat or the 'kuḍtā' effectively conceals the shape and awkwardness of the lower part of the body. Thus whereas the Northern variety of the Indian male costume may be described as anatomic, the Southern one must be essentially classed as gravitational, though in its composition figures a tailored garment.

Costume of Indian females presents even greater complexity. As will be seen in the sequel there are at least four varieties of it prevalent in the different parts of India. First, Panjabi and Sindhi females have commonly sported a dress which is not only completely anatomic but very revealing. They have donned over the upper part of their bodies a shaped shirt called 'salukā,' which fits well both over the bosom as well as the waist and the hips and descends to the mid-thighs. Its sleeves are long and taper towards the wrists. The lower parts of their bodies are covered by a kind of trousers, called 'salwār.' It is neither very baggy nor very tight. Over all is lightly thrown a fine scarf which hardly covers or conceals any part. When drawn over the head it provides an effective framing to the face. This costume is clearly the North-Western variety. The Northern type of female costume is based on a skirt, called 'lahaṅgā' or 'ghāgrā', as the piece of apparel to clothe the lower part of the body. A small 'sāri,' a loose piece of cloth which is the counterpart of the male 'dhoti,' not only doubly covers a part of the lower body but also the abdomen and the back, which are both left uncovered by the breast-garment, and the head as well. The breast-garment, called the 'kanculi', only supports the breasts. The skirt has generally a number of pleats and is much wider at the lower end than at the waist. In this ensemble the breast-garment is evidently anatomic and the rest of the dress is clearly gravitational. There is a slightly varying type of female attire which is

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more or less like the second or the Northern type but differs from it in this that it dispenses with the skirt, 'lahaṅgā,' and the scarf and instead uses a bigger 'sāri.' The 'sāri' is wound round the lower part, a few pleats are tucked in at the navel, and the rest of the 'sāri' is so draped that it forms a covering to the head, back, the shoulders and the abdomen. The small breast-garment is not universally worn. This dress may be conveniently described as the Central and Southern though it is also characteristic, without the breast-garment, of Orissa and Bengal. The loosely thrown portion of the 'sāri' at the back serves to conceal the hips whose general outline would otherwise be discernible. The 'sāri' is worn in its still bigger and fuller variety over the largest part of India South of the Narmada, more or less in the same manner. But because the garment is larger there are more pleats and an amplitude of oblique folds owing to the large number of tuckings. Except in the extreme South the tight-fitting bodice is worn as a breast-garment. This Central and Southern type of female costume is gravitational, largely concealing and slightly revealing. The general contour of the breasts and the concavity of the waist are revealed but the hips and legs are concealed. The fourth variety of female costume is met with at the two opposite extremes of North-East and the South-West. The females in Assam and on the Nilgiri mountains and west of those mountains generally wear pieces of cloth so that they cover their bodies from the level of the armpits down. But the pieces are so narrow that there are hardly any pleats formed in them when draped. On the Nilgiris and in the region to the west it appears the upper back is bare. This costume though based on untailored loose garments can hardly be said to exploit the natural fall of the material. The garments are tightly draped round the body. I shall therefore class this variety of female costume as anatomic, partially revealing and suggestive.

Through all this variety and complexity of Indian costumes, whether male or female, we see a preponderent trend, nay almost a dominant motive, as the common factor. It is that of concealing as much of the physical specialities and sexual charms as possible. Fundamental basis for this purpose is conveniently offered by the mainly gravitational nature of the costume. We may therefore consider the Indian costume as gravitational and conccaling on the whole, the few anatomic traits with their revealing or suggestive effect being regarded as outlying and aberrant survivals or bare necessities. The manifest complexity must be considered to be the result of ethnic diversity and climatic variety which have not yet yielded to the gradually assimilative process of Indian culture.

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Indian costume, being fundamentally gravitational and concealing, is the opposite of European costume which is anatomic and emphasizing. In so far as European culture with its ethnic diversity and climatic variety, which are hardly less than those of India, has been able to evolve a more or less uniform costume embodying its basic sartorial purpose, its acculturative process proves itself to be much more dynamic than the Indian one. There are also factors of political history concerned in the final difference between the two cultural processes, which we cannot enter into. It is sufficient to point out that corresponding to the difference in the nature of their costumes the Indian and the European societies evince distinctness of attitude to them. Generally European society looks upon costume not only as an item of personal attractiveness but also as a fashioner of personality. It is convinced of its psychological and social significance. Indian society, on the other hand, looks upon costume as an insignificant appendage, which is at its best a decoration and at its worst a deception.

In ancient India while poets showed their appreciation of costume in their use of such qualifying terms as 'well-dressed' or 'wearing a fine dress', philosophers utilized the worthlessness of old clothes to drive home to the uninitiated the evanescence of human body and the permanence of soul.[25] Whatever the basis of early poets for their use of adjectival terms indicative of fine dress, whether it was pure costume or, as is more likely, it was principally ornamentation that they had in view, it will be seen as the reader proceeds that the earliest representation of dress preserved in the works of art shows it to be rather rudimentary and almost as an item in the whole business of decoration of the body. It is in keeping with this history of costume that even when the Indians had developed great skill and had very far advanced in the systematization of knowledge, of arts and crafts, even when they enumerated from fairly early times eighteen sciences and sixty-four arts, neither the sciences nor the arts included the sartorial variety. Vātsyāyana, who gives a complete list of these arts and who, being concerned with imparting education for the happy management of his reader's sex-life, should have exploited the potentialities of costume as sex-attraction and given it the status of an art, does nothing of the kind. One of the arts which he exhorts a maiden to learn is what he calls 'arrangement of attire' which is rightly interpreted to mean the art of beautifying one's person with garments, garlands and ornaments. Another art to be cultivated is that of arranging flowers on certain parts of the body. The use of the needle and the artifices depending on its use are another of the sixty-four arts. There is only one among all these arts which has specific reference to clothes. It is called 'vastrago-

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panāni' or 'concealments regarding clothing.' The commentator explains the expression to mean 'the art of concealing with clothes parts of the body that must not be shown, of putting on an old garment in such a manner as to conceal its tattered nature, and of manipulating a large garment with the help of knots, folds etc., so that it shall not look large.'[26] Costume pure and simple was a very small part of any art and it figures along with ornamentation with garlands etc. as one aspect of it. When Vātsyāyana lays down the proper attire of a wife for sex-excitation the ensemble is formed by many ornaments, wearing of varied flowers, and of garment, rendered brilliant by a variety of unguents. The ensemble for pastime or journey consists of very fine and light silk garment, a limited number of ornaments, besmearing of good scents but not thick unguents, and wearing of white flowers.[27] Here again Vātsyāyana's ladies had not to bother much about the choice of their costume, which would appear to have been a fairly minor item. They had to devote great attention to besmearing their bodies with proper scents and unguents and with wearing the optimum number of ornaments and flowers.

When the poet-dramatist Kālidāsa opined that a handsome person may wear anything and yet thereby enhance his or her charms he was merely paraphrasing in his poetical language the technical æsthetic opinion that the nature of beauty consists in appearing adorned without the aid of adornments. It will be seen from appendix I, where the original data are discussed, that in most discussions about the use of artificial adornment what is prominently in view are ornaments and such other aids rather than pure clothing. Pure clothing, wherever it is directly referred to in the case of females, is viewed as an extinguisher of charms. When it is desired that the physical charms of a female should be visible to a male, special injunction to clothe her in extra thin and fine garment is given on a special occasion. Kālidāsa in voicing the view that females put on attire for them to be gazed at by their beloved is no doubt referring mainly to clothing. But it is in a context where the youthful Pārvati had put on bark-garments befitting old age and had to justify her action. As such the situation may have to be construed as referring not purely to dress and its mode. It is in general harmony with this view that when the special attire of queen Dhāriṇī under a religious vow is described in *Vikramorvaśīya*, the specific reference is made only to absence of all ornaments excepting the one which was the symbol of her married state. In *Mālatīmādhava*, Bhavabhūti has informed us that the dress of maidens alone could be bright and yet simple and tasteful, from which we may infer that some artfulness was permissible in the attire of a married lady. And for ought we know, the purpose of this artfulness might be to conceal the ero-

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genous zones. Bhāsa describing the 'gopa'—maidens ready for their dance with Kṛṣṇa as being fittingly attired has their whole ensemble in view and not mere costume. The sentiment expressed by Daṇḍin that prostitutes have their being and essence in dress and ornaments again emphasizes the attitude of the respectable sections of society towards these artifices that they must be within bounds and must not be used as enticers.[28] The view that clothing is fundamentally an index of modesty, which underlies all the varied remarks about it, is expressly stated by Hemacandra in the 12th century. He praises the womankind of the city of Anahilapāṭaka, the capital of Gurjararastra, for their modesty of dress which properly covered all the parts of their body. The commentator of the work, who lived about the middle of the 13th century, used the context to expound the still more general view that the beauty of high-born ladies is greatly enhanced by their covering all their limbs properly. The distinction in dress which marked the civil condition of women lay only in the colour of their garments. Thus widows wore only white clothes. Three grades of appropriateness were distinguished in respect of male attire. Bright, 'ujjvala,' attire is the mark of fops. Hence proper dress must be not only elegant, 'udāra,' but also devoid of gaudiness, 'anulbaṇa.' Such an attire is described as modest and dignified. The third type of male attire is simply modest, 'vinīta', and was to be worn when one went to such places as a hermitage.[29]

The attitude embodied in folk-literature of modern Indian languages, on a superficial view, appears to conflict with the essential subordination of costume to the total ensemble of attire voiced in Samskrt literature of ancient and mediæval India. The Hindustani proverb, *ek nūr ādmī, hazār nūr kapṛā*, meaning 'one beauty in the man and a thousand in his clothes,' is an equivalent of the English saying, 'God makes and apparel shapes'; and asserts the supreme significance of clothing in the personality of man. And either in this exact form or in a somewhat modified one it recurs in many of the Indo-Aryan vernaculars. But the sentiment enshrined in it is not in harmony with views expressed through a number of other proverbs and appears to be a borrowing made from some foreign source. Further it appears to be only a part of a larger proverb which is preserved in the same language in a much more non-Hindu form. It runs as given in the same collection of proverbs thus: '*ek husn ādmī, hazār husn kapṛā, lākh husn zevar, karoṛ husn nakhrā*,' and is translated as 'man has one beauty, apparel a thousand, jewels a hundred thousand, and love a million.' This longer proverb also subordinates pure costume to ornaments as a fashioner of personality and thus further corroborates the statement that the Indian oriental viewpoint places costume in a secondary position.

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The view that the beautifying function belongs more to ornaments than to clothes is expressed in many other proverbs. Thus one saying runs 'ṭūm binā baiyar hai aisī, bin pānī ke khetī jaisī,' and means 'a woman without ornaments is like a field without water,' i. e. desolate, while another simply states the socially realized truth that ornaments exalt the credit of a woman and proclaims a man to be wealthy, 'ṭūm baiyar kī pat badhāve; ṭūm tujhe dhanwant kahāve.' The same view is voiced in a slightly different but more homely manner in the Tamil proverb, meaning 'put gold on a woman and see; put mud-plaster on a wall and see.' Walls of country houses are generally made of earth and rubble and are brought into evenness by fine mud-plastering. Just as an originally rugged wall looks all neatness and smoothness with the mud-plaster, so a woman looks trim and fine with ornaments. Another Tamil proverb goes a step further and plainly states that the physical defects of a girl are straightened by gold-ornaments. The Hindustani proverb 'gobarkī sānjhī bhī pahrī oṛhī achchi lagtī hai' current among women records their appreciation of the role which clothes play in the looks of a woman, while the Gujarati saying that even a donkey when adorned looks well stresses the importance of the total adornment.

Besides the borrowed sayings there are few others which are not derivative and yet express a view about clothes which is not in conformity with my opinion so far expressed with the help of Samskrt and Indo–Aryan popular literature. In Gujarati we have the saying, 'ardha vasānũ mānavī vīśa vasānũ lugaḍũ' which signifies that the power of clothes is forty times that of the person and is thus a replica of the English adage 'clothes make a man'. The Hindustani proverb 'kapṛā kahe "tū mujhe kar tah, maī tujhe karũ shāh",' personifies clothes, which address the wearer impressing upon him their own significance. The wearer is told that if he would use his clothes carefully they would make a king of him. The social significance of dress thus brought out is more plainly stated in the expression 'bhekh se bhīk hai', 'alms are given to the beggar's dress' or again in the proverb, 'mailā kapṛā, pātar deh, kuttā kāṭe kaun sandeh?' The last saying is nearer the median truth and circumscribes the importance of clothes in two ways. First, clothes need only be clean. Second, the contributory cause of a person being ignored lies in the dilapidated condition of his body. The social significance of cleanliness in dress as an aspect of ceremonial purity is brought out in a Tamil proverb which means 'though you dress in rags, wash and then dress; and though you drink gruel, bathe and then drink it.' This is why it is exhorted in a Gujarati proverb that one should not feel embarrassed with torn clothes just as one should not feel ashamed of one's old

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parents. But the social implications and the personal repercussion of torn clothes are not altogether ignored. There are proverbs in Hindustani and Bihari signifying that torn clothes proclaim poverty and diminish dignity.

The ambivalent attitude towards costume which is adumbrated above is perhaps the result of the realization that people tend to spend on dress even at the risk of starving themselves. A Bihari and a Hindustani proverb assert that people sporting extra gaudy or dignified dress eat bad food and even damage their health. People are warned by a Bihari proverb to beware of outward specious appearances because generally they hide only the underclothing of rags. Both Hindustani and Gujarati proverbs exhort people to dress for the public but to eat for one's satisfaction. Thus will people derive double benefit. Dress has a social value and is socially conditioned.

The adorning capacity of costume is not altogether ignored in so far as a Hindustani proverb enjoins that one should eat to earn and dress to adorn. A number of proverbs, like 'naī bahū, ṭaṭ kā lahṅgā', 'a newly wed wife and a skirt of canvass', express appreciation of propriety in dress; and one at least voices a protest against miserliness in respect of it. Yet it is clear that this appreciation is different from Muslim woman's attitude to costume as enshrined in the Hindustani proverb current among them, 'antṛī meñ rūp, burqchī meñ chhab'. It makes complexion and beauty dependent on what one eats, and grace or charm on clothes.

On the whole, the Indian attitude to costume as reflected in folk–literature is that it is an accessory, secondary to the total ensemble of adornment. Though not only is improper or unbecoming dress discouraged and even condemned but also are appropriate clothes appreciated as an aid to personal grace, yet their hollowness is specifically insisted on. It is in harmony with this fundamental attitude that a number of proverbs speak disparagingly of the capacity of costume to effect a change in the personality of the wearer. Thus 'kamlī oṛhne se faqīr nahiñ hotā,' though a gibe at professional ascetics, states the pungent truth that the priestly clothes do not make a man religious-minded. The Kanarese proverb that a long 'dhoti' does not make a gentleman breathes the same disparagement, while another, meaning 'clothes cannot hide the monkey in a man' repudiates even the concealing power of costume in respect of strong personality traits. We need not be surprised then to meet with the sentiment already expressed in Samskrt literature that dress is the life-source of a prostitute voiced once again in a Tamil proverb. If dress is the essence of a prostitute small wonder that a proverb in the same language

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states its deduction, though in the form of a satire on the popular attitude. It means 'if she dresses herself with rags and goes out, she is a good housewife ; if she wears good clothes and goes out, she is a prostitute.' Bright, trim or even neat clothing being associated with prostitutes is considered to be a disqualification in a gentlewoman.

Costume is either such an insignificant item of personality or is so secondary to other items of the total ensemble that there is very little in folk-literature and even in serious literature about its regulation among social ranks. In a society ridden by rigid and small divisions, whose differentiation and hierarchy are meticulously laid down, sumptuary regulation of social ranks and sumptuary legislation are singularly lacking or quite insignificant. The Gujarati proverbs 'kharo paheravesa oḷakhāve desa' and 'paheravesa ne bolī jāta de kholī' are perhaps two rare proverbs which speak of costume not only as revealer of the wearer's country but also of his caste. And it should be borne in mind that as revealer of a person's caste, costume, being mentioned along with language, can be considered to serve that function only in a very broad manner.[30]

In view of the great difference in the attitudes to costume of the European and the Indian societies, it is interesting to note the vicissitudes of head-dress in their midst. Neither the Greeks nor the Romans, females or males, wore any head-dress as a regular feature of their costume. It is doubtful if the early Celts even showed any partiality for it. It is in the 11th century Bizantine civilization that headgear both for males and females became a regular item of dress, the first variety remaining in fashion for about four centuries.[31] We have already seen the importance of hat in the costume of both males and females in modern European society. Hat is even a compulsory item for the female because she is not expected to bare her head in any formal and respectable gathering except in her evening dress. In the Indian society on the other hand from the days of Bharhut, Bhaja and Bodhagaya to those of Sanci and Mathura in the North and of Mahabalipura and even later in the South both males and females are shown with comparable or even identical head-dress. As will be seen from the sequel the early headgear of both men and women is a rather voluminous turban folded over the head with loose cloth, which was itself sometimes richly embroidered or in which an additional piece of embroidered cloth was introduced. It definitely added both height and dignity to the figures of the wearers. The chief difference between the male and the female turban was that whereas the female one was worn without any projections or protuberances, vertical, frontal or sideways

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the male one more often than not was characterized by them. Later on, the male head-dress in the North became much more squat and approximated either to the cap or to the modern squat 'pāgṛi,' while in the South it grew into a high conical cap. The female head-dress followed suit for a short time in the North and by the end of the fourth century A. D. altogether disappeared never to recur in the region north of the Kṛsṇā. In the South the head-dress of queens at least took very much after that of the kings and kept on for a few centuries more. When head-dress disappeared from female attire it left a mark of distinction again almost between the North and South. Almost all over the area of Indo-Aryan languages women have worn either a part of their 'sāri' or of special scarf or shawl over their heads so as to cover them usually as a routine of daily attire or meticulously on all formal and religious occasions. Generally the Dravidian South has not favoured this practice, once its queens discarded their high head-dress, so that even the bronze images of the consorts of Kṛsṇā have been bareheaded.

Indian males have continued to wear their head-dress both in its ancient style as well as in the new styles of pre-formed turbans and caps. In all cases it has continued to be bright-coloured, variegated or gold-embroidered or both. The difference in regard to it between the North and the South is confined to minor details of material except that the South Indian turban is not rigidly pre-formed. Strangely enough in an area where kings and queens used to wear high caps till about the end of the 8th century and kings and noblemen till about the 16th there is no contemporary or recent evidence of its lineal descendant perching on the heads of South Indians though the word 'kullah', which in the North connoted this object, is retained in Tamil. As a matter of fact and of daily routine the extreme South, regions of Malayalam and Tamil languages, may be said to be characterized by bare head. What is very interesting for sartorial history and psychology is that the Indian males who continue to don their distinguishing plumage on their heads and, thus by contrast with their female folks, keep on appearing more distinguished—a distinction denied to their European compeers, because not only has the European female continued to wear a head-dress but she has also contrived to don one which is much brighter and far more attractive than the male one—have added to their repertory of dignified or attractive attire the trick of tilting the head-dress. In this respect the Indian male and the European male have walked hand in hand, sartorially speaking. But their respective societies have not treated this feature of their attire in an identical manner. Indian society has recorded its disapproval of the tilting of male head-dress not only by dubbing it as foppish but also by specializing the term denoting tilting

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to mean a fop. In many Indo-Aryan languages putting on the head-dress slantingly is referred to as a fashionable feature not worthy of gentlemen. And the word 'bānkā,' which literally means bent or tilted, stands for some kind of a fop. It is even suggested that the town of Bankipura in Bihar derives its name from the fact that formerly, when it was a part of Patna, it, being the permanent resort of women of ill-repute, was frequented by gaily-dressed men.[32] We see that the vicissitudes of and attitude towards costume in the European and the Indian societies have been fundamentally different.

This work is intended to be a contribution which should fill a niche in a comprehensive sociology of clothes, whose existence the present discussion must have demonstrated, and to add a chapter to the history of costume which the labours of scholars during the last sixty years have been unravelling. By itself it is neither a sociology of clothes nor a history of costume in general. Nevertheless, for a proper comprehension of the development of Indian costume, it is necessary to know its history among some other people. In particular it is desirable to have at least a bird's-eye view of the sartorial history of the West. The vicissitudes of dress in Persia, Mesopotamia, Egypt and Greece are not only interesting but also instructive to a student of Indian costume. For one important ethnic and cultural constituent of the Indians came into India from somewhere outside it not earlier than about 3000 B. C. Not only had it close cultural contact with peoples of some of the countries mentioned above but also in the earlier history before its dispersal it seems to have lived in close proximity with peoples who came to be known as Persians and Greeks.

In chronological fact, costume and that, too, cut and sewn, appears in the history of culture much earlier than a house or any other attested item of higher culture. Women of the Upper Palæolithic Age of Europe, painted in the caves of South-Western Europe about 20,000 B. C., were clothed in gowns more or less fitted to the body and in fairly large hats, reproduced in picture 1. It is a far cry from 20,000 B. C. to about 3,000 B. C. when next we come across clothed humanity. Early Sumerian dress as revealed by figurines dated before 2,500 B. C. was a fringed garment of wool which generally covered the whole body from the neck down, only leaving bare the right arm and partly the right shoulder. There was hardly any distinction between the male and the female dress.[33] The garment as worn by women appears to have been draped almost in the manner of the Indian 'sāri'. And in the fringe which enveloped the body we can detect the earliest prototype of the

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'border' of the 'sāri' (2, 3). Some Sumerian figures of the age of Gudea, about, 2,500 B. C., show 'sāri'–drapery of a different variety. The garment had a lengthwise patterned border at one edge, which was worn to great effect in the particular mode of draping (4, 5). The dress of the queen of the Assyrian emperor Assurbanipal is even more reminiscent, in appearance almost a replica, of the 'sāri' (6). The body of the garment is coloured a shade of green and the border, which appears to be about 6 inches broad, has a design in three other colours. The loose end is drawn from the right hip over the bosom, the left shoulder and from the back taken up tightly over the right arm. It thus covers not only the bosom but the upper part of the back and both shoulders. The queen has over the upper part of her body a piece of apparel which appears to be the exact counterpart of the Indian 'coli'. Its sleeves fit the arms, and tapering lower down end half way between the elbows and the wrists in a broad border. In reality this garment is only the upper portion of a whole piece of apparel shaped like a gown. It covers the whole body from the neck to the ankles and is better called a gown, though it is described as a tunic by Houston and Hornblower. The 'sāri,' which is called a shawl by the above authors and is believed to measure 50" by 130", is draped over it.[34]

Egyptian female costume presents a greater variety and begins with an anatomic type of it, which is almost wholly revealing. The dress is properly described as a high and tight hobble skirt suspended from the shoulders by two thin straps. It not only left the bosom bare but acted as the supporter of the breasts. Over the hips it fitted tightly and did not flare out at the lower extremity. Though it is known from figures dating about 1700 B. C. it is met with in early wooden statuettes and continued to be the dress of goddesses upto the first century, B. C.[35] (7). Another almost equally ancient dress for females consisted of a wide cloak fastened at the neck and provided with wide sleeves. It was drawn in and tucked at the waist in various ways producing a smooth surface over the buttocks and a number of oblique folds in the region of the thighs[36] (8). Under the 18th Dynasty when military successes brought the Egyptians in closer contact with other peoples and gave them a new sense of dynamic greatness, this dress gave place to two novel modes. The older hobble skirt, depending from the shoulders and leaving the bosom bare, is turned into the simple petticoat and cape costume. The skirt slightly flared at the lower end and was held at the waist with a piece of tape introduced into the hemmed upper edge. The cape covered the bosom, back and the shoulders (9). The other new mode is the counterpart of the Indian 'sāri' and is described as shawl drapery of robe-like and elegant appearance (10, 11). Both these varieties of female

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costume were devoid of any borders. The robe–like garment continued to be plain white for a long time. Houston and Hornblower, who noticed clear and many resemblances of this dress to the draping of the Indian 'sāri' and have described minutely not only the Egyptian method of draping the shawl but also the modern Indian way of doing the 'sāri', have made some interesting observations regarding the ingenuity and beauty displayed in this costume. They observe: "The ingenuity displayed in the draping of these costumes can only be realized when they are actually done upon a model. It should be noted with regard to all Egyptian costumes of the more fully draped type that the entire draperies seem to radiate from one point, usually a knot at the waist, with very beautiful effect."[37]

The peoples of Western Asia and Egypt, of whose female costume I have written briefly so far, ethnically and linguistically were entirely different from the peoples who later made up the Indian people. The ancient peoples of Iran and the invaders of Greece and Rome, who later made the distinctive civilizations known as Iranian, Greek and Roman, had very close linguistic affinities with one section of the Indian people and perhaps some ethnic connections too. The female costume within these civilizations, though in chronological counting they are much later than the ancient Indian civilization, claims our closer attention. Unfortunately next to nothing is known regarding the costume of the women–folk of the Medes and the ancient Persians. It is surmised that it was more or less like the dress worn by the queen of Assurbanipal described above. It is also pointed out that a representation of the queen of a Persian king of the 5th century A.D. shows her as wearing trousers, an article of attire worn by Persian women of the present day.[38] As will be seen later the Persians are the earliest known people among whom the use of trousers by males is attested. In view of this sartorial history may we conclude that the costume of Persian females, too, consisted of trousers for the lower part of the body and some form of tunic for the upper part?

The costume of Egyptian females changed from a tailored garment to loose robe, from one which was suspended with straps or fastened at the neck to one which was tied at the waist or rather knotted and tucked in there. The female costume of both Mesopotamia and Persia seems to have kept on more or less unchanged. So, too, the dress of Greek and Roman women fundamentally was based on the loose robe from about the 7th century B. C. to about the middle of the 2nd century A. D. Yet it accommodated the demands of highly developed fashion. This is a most interesting and surprising phenomenon. For under Aegean civilization, which flourished

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in the islands and on the mainland of Greece for about 1500 years before the Homeric Greeks set their foot on the soil, which was to be theirs afterwards, womenfolk, apart from special athletic dress, were clad in fashionably cut flounced gowns. Evidently the proud Greeks did not condescend to imitate the dress of the people whom they conquered.

The early Greek women sported a costume made up of one piece of patterned cloth, which was formed into a sort of a fairly fitting cylindrical dress with the help of a few clasps, pieces of strings or brooches holding together the front and back portions on the shoulders. Invariably at the waist a cord or belt was fastened tightly and the surplus amount of cloth was drawn up over the upper part of the body (12, 13). The lower part of the dress, which may be called the skirt, was drawn up towards the left and held in the left hand along with the hanging portion of the central belt (vide, *E. B.*, X, 807, fig. 6). Over this was worn a loose piece of cloth of varying dimensions, which remained the one indispensable garment for both women and men for about nine centuries. It was loosely and elegantly wrapped round the lower part of the body, once or more as the case may be, both the edges being generally allowed to dangle, one straight over the left shoulder in front and the other turned backwards over the left fore-arm. It used to have patterned lengthwise and breadthwise borders (16). Even in the archaic period of Greece both garments very often had fine designs over them. Fashionable women chose for their second garment a smaller piece of cloth and arranged it differently. They clothed their right arm with it, having held it in position by means of buttons or brooches and allowed the surplus to fall gracefully in the front and at the back over the right side. Left half of the upper part of the body including the left arm was uncovered (14). In another fashion the garment was reduced to the dimensions of a scarf. Harmonizing with its intended use as a scarf were its breadthwise borders. It fell negligé coming from behind over the two arms in front (15). In early times this garment was worn in such a manner as to cover the head with it, it being made to rest there (12). Thus it served the purpose of the veil, which, as Norris observes, was the lineal ancestor of both the larger second garment as well as the smaller scarf, described above. At least in the early age "It was not only used as a head-covering, but was also drawn across the face when so desired."[39] It appears that on formal or religious occasions the wearing of the veil drawn forward and held in the hand continued to be the practice. A Spartan tombstone representing ancestor-worship shows the ancestor and ancestress seated side by side for receiving the gifts of their descendants. The

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ancestress is sculptured as holding her veil in one hand and a pomegranate, the usual food of the dead, in the other (vide, *E. B.*, X, 807, fig. 7).

That the second garment, which was a loose piece, served as the veil and that it used to be drawn out almost as an extinguisher for the face is one of the most significant sartorial traits of the women of ancient Greece of special interest to students of Indian costume, who come across this piece of apparel in literary and artistic works. Another important affinity is provided by the waist-girdle regarding which the following observations of Norris will be found very interesting: "The girdle was a very important part of Greek women's attire, and is often mentioned in Classical literature .... it was either an invisible cord or an elaborately ornamented belt, fastened at the waist in front, the long end descending the skirt, in the centre of the cascade, to the feet." The otherwise simple dress was full of colour and decoration. The earliest attested woven fabric with pattern dates from the 5th century B. C. The particular pattern was composed of statant ducks. Swans in the borders of garments comprising Indian costume get literary mention in Samskrt after the 3rd century A. D. But embroidered cloth is mentioned even in the earliest literature of the Veda, which is dated not later than 1500 B. C. Many Greek garments were woven with bright-coloured borders sometimes interspersed with gold threads.[40]

The Greek female costume, though formed by loose garments, not being tied at the waist or anywhere else as its principal focus, unlike the Egyptian costume of the same basis, did not create oblique folds radiating slantingly from one centre. More often than not the particular mode of draping the garments gave rise to vertical folds relieved by oblique folds only when the so–called cascade was held up in the left hand. It is only in concepts inspired by Egypt like the Greco–Roman statue of the Goddess Isis (17) that this feature of the drapery makes its appearance.

The modern European orientation of the Greek female costume is manifest first of all in the low necks of most of their apparel–modes. The manner of wearing the under garment which by itself tried to cover the whole body, even in its routine practice, allowed glimpses of the sides of the body. In the fashionable world, and here is the second trait of modern European affinity, this natural opportunity was still further exploited so as to bare parts of the leg and the side. The use of the corset, which depended from the shoulders on straps and covered in one tight-fitting sweep the part of the body from below the arm-pits to about the hips, is the third sartorial trait of modern European affinity and significance. The fourth important feature of the Greek female dress was that it was subject to fashion so much so that

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Norris observes: "The last six centuries B. C. and the nineteenth and twentieth centuries A. D. share a distinction in the history of costume, as being the only periods in which women have dominated the fashions."[41]

The costume of Roman women remained more or less the same as that of the Greek. Only their second garment, not being secured by buttons, clasps or pins, was often worn over the head.[42] The sculpture of Roman Etruscan women witnessing a horse-race, or later of Roman women in mourning, represent them with their garment over the head and the loose end drawn over the right shoulder (18, 19).

As I have already stated, the early male costume of Mesopotamia was almost identical with that of females. The shawl as draped by the Babylonian Naramsin about 2700 B. C. is slightly different from the manner that is evidenced in the statute of the Sumerian king Gudea. The reconstruction and the original on another statue (20, 21, 22) remarkably remind us of the female statue and its drapery in picture 2. With the Hittite contact and Babylonian ascendency the comparative nudity of the upper part and the looseness of the garment disappear. And even before the 12th century B. C. royal males appear dressed in a long fitting tunic, which covers the whole body from the neck to the ankles, generally held at the waist under the clasp of a sash. Its sleeves which are neither very broad nor very fitting reach only the elbows. It shows a patterned or fringed border at its ankles-end (23). It is reminiscent of the gowns of the Elamite and Assyrian women already described (3, 6). A conical cap covers the head. The Assyrian dress of about the 9th century adds to the long coat a covering for the lower part which goes beyond the coat to about the calves. Over the upper part a shawl is draped either in the manner of females, or sometimes more or less negligently (24 and Houston and Hornblower, pl. XIII). Thus the costume combines the original Sumero-Babylonian items with the later Hittite-Elamite borrowings. On the head the conical or truncated cap is swathed round in a piece of folded cloth, one of whose ends upto the length of a foot or two is left dangling on the neck behind. The Persian kings were clad in a cloak, which is nothing but a tunic that is broad and ample, of patterned and dyed cloth, with elegant borders at the neck, at the waist and at the ankles. A tight girdle at the waist enabled the wearer to pull large part of the tunic up at the centre, giving rise to both vertical and oblique folds. Underneath, tight-fitting trousers seem to have been worn (25). Rather tight trousers clearly appear on the person of a figure ascribed to 6th to 5th centuries B. C. The tunic worn by this personage is the precursor of the regular tunic of later times whether Egyptian or

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Roman. It fairly fits the person. Its sleeves, too, which reach the wrists are narrow and its lower end falls over the knees. Over this is sported what is in all likelihood the earliest attested coat proper. It has long sleeves which are fairly fitting without tapering. It appears that its two panels did not completely cover the front of the person but left some opening between them. It reached the ankles. This person, who in this much of his sartorial ensemble is the prototype of the modern European male, has donned a peculiar cap, which has all the appearance of being the ancestor of one type of cap-turban worn by the Parsis of India. It bulges out loaf-like at its upper extremity (26).

The dress of the early Egyptian males consisted of a loin-cloth more or less simply arranged. The royalty and the higher classes, however, wore it rather broad, reaching almost to the knees, and arranged it carefully so that some portion of it, finely pleated, hung underneath the two flaps of the cloth coming from the left and right thighs and crossing at the navel (27, 28, 29). Royal personages, on all formal and religious occasions, wore a peculiar head-dress which soon assumed the shape of a more or less conical and high cap, or turban with a neat flap dangling behind over the neck and the shoulder-bones (29). This costume with very slight changes continued, as indeed most other items of Egyptian culture, from the period of the Old Empire to that of the New Empire of the 18th Dynasty, i. e. from about 3,000 B. C. to about 1500 B. C. It is wellknown that Egypt came into closer contact with Asia, owing to political events, at the beginning of the New Empire and began to be influenced by foreign models in many items of culture, which lay beyond the field of religion. H. R. Hall looks upon this influence and these connections as having led to the 'loss of character'.[43] This scholar observes: "The new art, like the new, culture, is beautiful, but it is lavish, its taste is not so good as was that of the 12th Dynasty, it is rococo." It is remarkable, in view of what I have stated above regarding the interrelations of costume and other items of social life, that "there was now an added note of grace in men's as well as women's costume, that contrasts greatly with the stiffness of the dress of the older dynasties."[44] The loin-cloth was worn in a more elaborate fashion presenting a triangular front with its apex at the navel. It is very curiously represented in pictures (30). But the grace referred to in Hall's observation quoted above attached to the rather new adoption of a more or less old dress not uncommon among females of the early period. Males began to don a wide cloak depending from the neck and generally open down the sides below the waist. With the help of a sash the lower flaps were tightly drawn up at the waist and the upper portion raised, which thus rested over the arms in fine folds. This mode of

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wearing the cloak approximates it to the contemporary dress of Egyptian females and to the Indian 'sāri'–draping in appearance (30, 32). Sometimes over the cloak was worn another loin-cloth and the lower portion was so manipulated as to show not only fine vertical folds but also a bulge at about the level of the knees (33). This elaborate and varied male dress persisted with little alteration till the Ptolemaic times, i. e. from about 1500 B. C. to about 300 B. C. Another old Egyptian mode which persists even to-day was that of a loose cloak or robe simply depending from the neck and reaching the feet (31).[45]

The dress of Greek males in archaic times consisted, like that of the Egyptians and Cretans, of a loin-cloth, which among respectable sections of the society resembled the Indian 'dhoti' in general appearance. It would appear they invariably wore another garment either draped round the lower and upper parts of the body or simply pleated and worn over the left shoulder and round the chest, both its ends being brought in front over the left shoulder and allowed to fall gracefully (34, 35). This garment, when worn in the manner described above, forms an exact replica of the Indian 'dupatta,' which is often times similarly pleated and identically worn in the manner of the sacred thread. Later a loose piece of cloth turned into a kind of loose tunic, open at one side like the one donned by Greek females, came to be in vogue. It differed from the garment of Greek females only in being shorter, as it ended just above the knees. It generally had more than one decorated border. The second garment, when worn along with this was generally held in its position by a brooch, which held firmly on the right shoulder two of its ends (36). This ensemble remained tke standard dress both of the Greeks and the Romans throughout the Hellenistic age.[46]

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2

The Historical Background

Readers of this work, who have progressed so far, will expect a brief history of political and social events of the Indians as a background of their sartorial explorations and achievements. But the task is neither light nor even easy. For first, as will be evident from the sequel, the history of Indian costume has necessarily to be much more laconic than that of the European. There are long periods for which next to nothing is known in the realm of costume. Second, the changes in dress as demonstrable by our existing knowledge are item-wise less than those in many other sartorial histories. Third, while a fair concatenation of principal political events from about the 3rd century B. C., i. e. for about half of the total period over which our study has to spread itself, is available, similar map of social events is yet to be constructed. Under these circumstances I have attempted to present to the reader only an outline sketch of Indian history mainly with a view to providing him with a chronological and period scaffolding.

For purposes of this study not only the prehistoric period of lithic culture but also that of the chalcolithic culture represented by the Indus valley civilization is omitted from our purview. The contribution of that period to our knowledge of costume is very small; and that, too, is wholly confined to the culture of the Indus valley. Without entering into a discussion of the affinities of this culture with that to its east in India on the one hand and with those on its west on the other, we can safely assert that it is not yet clearly proved that the Indus valley culture was the western source of Indian culture rather than the easternmost outpost of the Sumero-Susan one.

Indian history, in its protohistoric period, when it has to be pieced together from whatever little information that can be culled out from literature, which is liturgical, mythological and mystical in the main and legendary and traditional in part, must be begun with the doings of the people whose exploits figure earliest in the *Ṛgveda*. About 2000 B. C. a number of tribes or ethnic groups having close

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linguistic and other cultural affinities with the Iranians, the Greeks, the Romans and some others, were pouring into India from the North-West through the Khyber Pass. As the meagre record of their culture reveals to us, though they knew and practised agriculture they valued their cattle and reared them as if they were still in the pastoral stage. Their arts and crafts were fairly highly developed and though the village was the common unit of habitation they had cities too. In their early social history they offered simple sacrifices to their gods, generally individual householder doing his own worship, even when helped by professional priests. Later, they developed long protracted sacrifices in the offering of which whole groups participated. Their battles with the indigenous people are couched in rather legendary and mystic terms, while those among the nobility of their own ethnic stocks are described fairly realistically. The dynastic history is scattered here and there in the *Ṛgveda* and has to be pieced together from garbled accounts preserved in the late collections called the *Purāṇas* as Pargiter has done.

The most important institution with significant political and social consequences was that of the horse-sacrifice, which their royalty was desirous of performing. A horse was let loose by the intending royal performer to roam about through the kingdoms of independent princes. If any of them restrained the horse in order to assert his independence the intending performer had to offer battle and by defeating him to liberate it. Naturally when the horse was thus successfully brought back and sacrificed the sacrificer was dubbed a paramount sovereign. One hundred performances of this sacrifice were the cherished ideal, which hardly any king attained. The greatest ones who attempted such a feat were therefore endearingly and proudly remembered and enshrined in traditional literature. The highest among the sovereigns, called the 'cakravartin,' naturally brooked no compeer in the land, and was the sole and paramount sovereign. The institution thus had the effect of political integration being attempted from time to time as and when a great monarch with high ambition appeared on the scene. It also led to new conquests. Thus the whole of North India was being slowly but surely not only conquered by the nobility of the ethnic stocks that had poured through the North-West but was also being administratively and socially integrated into one political and even national community.

This period of Indian history may properly be called the era of expansion. It is an age when the Vedic Aryans, oriented eastwards and southwards, marched on slowly but steadfastly from the Land of the Five Rivers to the region lying between the Sutlaj and the Yamunā. This locality played such crucial part in the cultural

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history of these peoples that in all later literature the region came to be looked upon as the most hallowed one and was called the Brahmāvarta, the region of God Brahmā. Thence, too, with slow but sure steps they progressed towards the east and seem to have halted for a long time somewhere at the western extremity of modern Bihar or ancient Magadha. North of the Gangā they proceeded on their eastward march much more quickly than south of it. The time-lag in penetration was so great that, even when south Bihar was not only occupied by the nobility and some other classes of these people but was actually contributing its quota to the cultural total of the Hindus, it could not escape being looked upon as the country par excellence of non-Aryan peoples, i. e. of peoples who were not of the same ethnic stock as the Ṛgvedic people who had poured into India from the west.

One stage of this expansion, its consequent strifes and territorial integration, may be said to have been marked by the wars that are recorded in the epic of the *Mahābhārata*. All the people of Northern India were actively engaged in them on one side or the other. Even the king of Prāgjyotiṣ and Kāmarūpa, later known as Assam, participated in the great Bhārata war. By the time this war took place–according to many competent students it was fought about 1000 B.C.–the whole of Northern India and at least one region south of the Narmadā, the modern Berars, were diplomatically, politically and even dynastically interconnected. But as the causes of the war show there was no single power unquestionably in sole sovereignty of this interconnected region. And the victors themselves, as legendary accounts make it clear, were hardly able to protect their friends.

In the reign of Parikṣit, the grandson of the victorious Pāṇḍavas of the Bhārata war, who came to the throne very soon after the great war, the Nāgas, who seem to have been quietened by the prowess of the Pāṇḍavas, raised their head in the North-West. A feud seems to have ensued in which Parikṣit was killed. His famous son Janamejaya is traditionally represented as having performed a great sacrifice designed to extirpate the Nāga race. In plain words this means that he waged a war with the Nāgas to avenge his father. He seems to have succeeded in subduing the Nāgas, for they are thereafter not heard of till much later. The fourth descendant of this great king, however, found it necessary to remove his capital from Hastināpura at the headwaters of the Gangā to Kauśāmbi on the Yamunā, about 300 miles to its south-east. The literary references to the vicissitudes of the dynasty of the Kurus and its peoples suggest the causes of this migration to be some natural calamities like the floods of the river and an invasion of locusts. But it is hardly

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likely that such calamities should have necessitated permanent departure to a place so distant from the original capital. The recrudescence of the Nāga power might have rendered it impossible to continue to live with ease and peace in the ancient land of the Kurus. The famous dynasty of the Kurus, who gave their name to the region of their ancient home, which has been called Kurukṣetra for the last two thousand years and more, left it for good. And it is a strange coincidence that the dynasty itself soon passed into oblivion after it left its ancient seat of power about 820 B. C.[1]

From this time or a little later to about the end of the 6th century B. C. Northern India was politically divided between 16 great dominions whose affairs were mostly conducted as oligarchies or republics. Great monarchs appear only about the middle of the 6th century and those too only in the regions east of Mathura. Towards the end of the 6th century, Gāndhāra, north–western area beyond the Indus, went under the dominion of a foreign power, the Persians of the Achaemenid dynasty. About a generation before this event was born Gautama Buddha, then called Siddhārtha.

From the intellectual and ideological side the era, not the war, marks the end of one stage. Though the son and the grandson of the famous Pāṇḍavas, the victors of the great war, performed Vedic sacrifices, the horse–sacrifice performed by the Pāṇḍavas themselves proved to be the last known to traditional history and remained so for about 800 years. The age of sacrifice was giving place to the age of critical and ethical philosophy. Even within the field of Vedic sacrificial procedure there arose a schism in the reign of Janamejaya. And soon after it, took shape the critical and ethical philosophy of the *Upaniṣads*. About a century or two later flourished Buddha who not only created a schism in the philosophical thought but also sowed the first seeds of linguistic separateness by insisting that his teachings should be presented in the language of the region and the people and not in that of culture and the elite. Though the language of the *Upaniṣads*, and much more so the classical language for which Pāṇini gave a thorough–going grammar almost about the time of Buddha's activities, was different from the language of the Vedas yet there was enough common ground between the two for the classical to be taken as the norm and for the other to be treated as exceptions. In spite of great linguistic change the language of the elite all over Northern India was the same and had a continuity with the past extending over about 1500 years.

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From the historian's point of view the whole period from the time the Ṛgvedic Aryans began to pour into the North–Western corner of India to the time of the birth of Buddha or rather to the Achæmenid domination of the North–West is one of expansion, and consolidation. Thus from about 2000 B. C. to about 520 B. C. is the expansive era, towards the end of which occurs not only the first foreign occupation of some of the soil hallowed by the activities of the Ṛgvedic Aryans but also the first stablization of two contending scripts, the Kharoṣṭhī and the Brāhmī. The former ran like Arabic and Persian from right to left while the latter was written like Devanāgarī or English from left to right, though earlier it, too, was tried in the right to left way. Even more significant than these conflicting and disintegrative factors was the exploitation by Buddha of the regional peculiarities of language, laying the foundations of linguistic separateness of these regions, in spite of other cultural homogeneity, from Taxila in the North–West to Champa in the East and from Śrāvasti in the North to Ujjaini in the South[2] and even much further. Politically the two centuries, that intervened between the personages figuring in the *Upaniṣads* and Buddha, were the era of oligarchies or some kind of republics and not of great sovereign monarchs.

Materials for cultural history other than that of thought and political organization, for the history of architecture, art and costume for example, are extremely scarce for this period. And the intellectual and linguistic schism introduced by Buddha makes its first grand appearance in the next period, which was heralded by the occupation of the North–Western region by Alexander and his Greeks. During the two centuries or so that elapsed between the Achæmenid domination of the North–West and that of the Greeks, it appears, the regions west of Mathura were evolving out a political existence separate from that of the regions to its east. In the east a number of monarchs who had managed to emerge out of the oligarchic or republican milieu, were constantly contending for supremacy. And long before Alexander had set his foot on the Indian soil, the ruling house of Magadha, the eastern region which was held in light esteem by the Aryans till about 700 B. C., had managed to be recognised as the sovereign rulers. The 'Nine Nandas' of Pāṭaliputra, whose last scion was forcibly and treacherously ousted from his patrimony, are far–famed in Indian traditional history as the monarchs of Magadha and the sovereigns of India. The ruler who had his court at Pāṭaliputra when Alexander defeated Porus was one of the Nandas, who was reputed to have had a very large standing army. Candragupta, the Maurya, who, soon after the departure of Alexander, usurped the throne of Magadha, forced his regent in the North–West to

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enter into a treaty very favourable to himself. Thereby Candragupta wrested from the clutches of the Greeks not only all the North-Western area of India but also some beyond it. A Greek ambassador came to his court. Candragupta himself married some Greek female. In this we may recognise the first historically known foreign element, in linguistic culture very akin to that of the Vedic Aryans, with whose doings began this account of the historical background, entering into the Indian amalgam. Candragupta's was the first historically attested Indian Empire stretching from Herat in the West to the Bay of Bengal in the East.

The period from about 520 B. C. to 320 B. C. is the period of internal weakness and external pressure and saw the rise of two schisms, Buddhism and Jainism. Effect of the foreign contact, if any, was yet to make itself apparent.

Because this period ends with authentic data regarding costume, whose evolution I have set myself the task of unravelling, I treat the whole span from the Ṛgvedic age to 320 B. C. as a unit-period.

Vedic literature owing to its nature offers only scanty information regarding the costume of the people. But it is all that is available. And it is exactly for this reason that I have treated the whole period of about 1700 years as one. At the end of this unit-period we get, though again rather meagre, authentic information about the dress of the people from the writings of Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador at the court of Candragupta, the Maurya. The Epics provide the purely literary evidence for the later part of the period.

The great empire built up by Candragupta was not only held intact but also was added to by his son and successor, Bindusāra. And it was in this augmented size that it was handed down to Aśoka. Aśoka was himself a great conqueror and extended his imperial sway over the length and breadth of Southern India, leaving only the southernmost tip, representing in contemporary political geography the districts of Madura and Tinnevelley as well as the state of Travancore. The great conqueror, however, before he could annex this excluded area to his dominions and thus integrate the whole empire from Herat to the Bay of Bengal and from Śrīnagara to Rāmeśwaram, came under the effective influence of quietistic Buddhism. With the reputed zeal of a noviciate he set out to make a moral conquest of the world. Logically with his conversion he appears to have disbanded the large and magnificent standing army, which had been built up since the days of the Nandas and was, to judge by its doings in the North-West and in Kalinga, a very efficient

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tool for keeping the peace anywhere in the vast dominions. The political consequences of this attempted moral conquest of the world to the empire of this monarch and of his forefathers were utterly disastrous. The efforts of this great monarch to convince the rulers and the people of countries situated to the west and north-west of India that the spirit of quietism and attendant moral victory were superior to an appeal to arms and consequent territorial acquisition failed almost miserably in their principal objective. They bore fruit perhaps in the nominal spread of the Buddhist cult. Within a generation after the death of Aśoka the grand empire, which had been maintained in its grandeur for at least three generations, crumbled to pieces. And among the agencies which caused this collapse figure prominently the aggressive steps of the Greeks and others of the West and North-West, first to free themselves from the rule of hither India and then to carve out an empire from portions thereof, in flagrant violation of the lessons of piety preached by the deceased sovereign. Aśoka's own sons and grandsons, for whose moral well-being he showed great concern in some of his edicts, responded to their father's and grandfather's call by simply acquiescing in this disintegrative process.

The Greeks, who were halted almost at the Indus in their previous adventures, finding that they were much better placed now to proceed further east, started by capturing a large part of the Panjab, which had declared its independence of hither India very soon after Aśoka's death. Having got a foothold on the Indian soil the Greeks and the Bactrians, it seems, led small expeditions off and on upto Mathura and even as far as Kośāmbi. About 185 B. C. Puṣyamitra, an illustrious scion of the Sunga family, usurped the throne of Pāṭaliputra and set about stopping the inroads of the Greeks.

It is instructive to note that the Sunga family, which had its headquarters in the region round about Ujjayini, represented an ancient family of Vedic Brahmins, whose scions followed the profession of Brahmins as well as of Kṣatriyas. One member of the family was adopted by the great Puru king Bharata, after whom India has ever since come to be called Bharatavarṣa, to succeed himself and thus to continue the great line in the sacred land of the Kuru-Pāñcālas.[3] It is in the fitness of the situation from the viewpoint of Vedic culture, that Puṣyamitra should have been the first historically attested performer of the famous Vedic sacrifice, the Aśvamedha or the horse-sacrifice, which signified sovereignty of the performer. We know that long before the eclipse of Vedic culture by Buddhistic preaching this sacrifice had more or less fallen into disuse. Puṣyamitra, the Ksatriyan Brahmin, thus sounded

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the clarion call of the resurgence of Vedic culture, which in the emerging new form has been known as Brāhmanism. Yet it is wrong to represent him as the persecutor of the Buddhists. He defeated the advancing Greeks and seems to have blocked their passage east of Mathura.

The effect of Puṣyamitra's exploits appears to have been only temporary. About 150 B.C. Menander, the Greek king of the Panjab, pushed as far east as Pāṭaliputra but was evidently unable to retain all the territory and returned to the Panjab. Menander's activity is an ironic comment on the pietistic appeal of Aśoka and his Buddhism. For this great conqueror was not only a follower of Buddhism but was a very highly honoured Buddhist as his figuring in the Pāli book *Milindapañha*, under the name of Milinda, indicates. The Sungas could not succeed in extricating their land west of Mathura from the clutches of the foreigners, some of whom, being followers of Buddhism, must have ceased to be looked upon as foreigners. We do not know if any of the Buddhists within the dominions of the Sungas, and there were large numbers of them, helped these foreigners to carry their invasions into the heart of the old Empire. We know it for certain that dominion over the country, west of Mathura, soon passed into the hands of other foreigners. Many of these supported the Śaiva section of the Brahmanic religion, and some paid homage to Iranian deities. But the greatest monarch among them and one of the greatest of those that have ruled over this land, Kaniṣka, the Kuṣāṇa, was a Buddhist. Kaniṣka's services to Buddhism are only second to those of Aśoka. Kaniṣka was a mighty conqueror and was perhaps the sole sovereign of Northern India. At least during his lifetime no other important monarch, whose deeds had to be sung or to be recorded, seems to have flourished in Northern India. According to one story this eclectic Buddhist was murdered by his people who had grown tired of his aggressive wars.

Another foreign tribe which availed itself of the opportunity of pressing into the rich country which was internally weak was that of the Śakas. The Śakas were either related to the Kuṣāṇas or came from the same country. But they penetrated India through the Bolan pass into Sindh and thence further east. The early kings of this tribe were either Buddhists or eclectics with Iranian inclinations. But the greatest monarch of their tribe Rudradāman was so far Brahmanised as not only to use the classical Samskṛt language for his inscription but also to record with pride his mastery over that language. He ruled about A. D. 150 from Ujjayini.

It is again an interesting fact that this great king was still looked upon as an interloper by some of the peoples, who, though they cherished their older heritage,

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were unable to raise their head against the Greeks and Kuṣāṇas. They had preserved some kind of independence and had now sufficiently recovered from the shock to play their part. Rudradāman has preserved for us his estimate of the Yaudheyas, who were trying to harass him and whom he conquered, as "proud and indomitable." The Yaudheyas, who were located in the south-east Panjab in the time of Samudragupta, and are noticed by Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra* as a corporation of warriors, were evidently one of the oligarchies or republics well-known for their martial organization and qualities. And though they were for the time being subdued by Rudradāman, historians are agreed that the blows they dealt to the Śakas were some of the telling ones, to which must be given considerable credit for the final overthrow of the foreigners by the Imperial Guptas about A. D. 320. The locality which the Yaudheyas were occupying till the time of Samudragupta was their ancestral home; for in the traditional history preserved in the *Purāṇas* they are represented as having been the descendants of Uśīnara, the father of the famous king Śibi, in the third generation and as the first cousins of Madrakas, who were settled in the Central Panjab. Their antiquity is established by the fact that Pāṇini mentions them. The dominions, which the Yaudheyas were helping to free from the clutches of the foreigners, were not the entity that was welded and held by Candragupta and Aśoka but only hither India, east of the Rāvi. For the North-West had passed under the rule of the Persian Sassanian dynasty by about A. D. 250. The Śātavāhana kings of the Deccan, though they were connected by marriage with some section of the Śaka rulers, too, were at war with them and must be given some credit for having kept the banner of the earlier Vedic–Brahmanic culture flying in the South.

The period of Indian history, which began with Candragupta Maurya as the sole sovereign of Northern India and ushered in the first historical Empire in this land, continued glorious till the death of Aśoka about 232 B. C. Thereafter till A. D. 320 a large part of Northern India, perhaps more than half, continued to be under foreign domination. Towards the centre and the east till about the beginning of the Christian era older elements kept on a fairly vigorous watch and carried on a stable administration. After the beginning of the Christian era the whole of Northern India was under the rule of one or the other of the foreign tribes which had domiciled in this land. This period of foreign rule was brought to a close finally by a power that arose in the east and based itself on Pāṭaliputra whence, as we saw, had arisen the first historical Empire in this country. The new power, the Imperial Guptas, was related to one of the ancient peoples of the eastern region of Kṣatriya order, though they were themselves Vaiśyas, the third order in Hindu society.

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From the cultural viewpoint this is by far the most important period in Indian history. Greek influence penetrated the imperial court at Pāṭaliputra. Aśokan art betrays some foreign influence. At least it is quite clear that the art of the Sunga period does not derive its inspiration from Aśokan court-art but from the folk-art as represented by a few pieces of colossal sculpture. Aśoka's great service to Indian culture mixed with his disservice was his use of the Brāhmi script for his edicts worded in the Prākṛt dialects and promulgated in the regions east of the Sutlej. His edicts in the North-West were written in the Kharoṣṭhi script. Aśoka's Prākṛticism caught on; for even during the rule of the Brahmin kings of the Sunga dynasty the inscriptions, mostly of Buddhist followers, were couched in Prākṛt. Even the inscriptions of the Brahmanic kings of the Śātavahana house in the Deccan were written in the Prākṛt language and the Brahmi script. The foreigners, not only the Greeks and the Parthians but also the Hinduised Kuṣāṇas, commonly used the Prākṛt language and the Kharoṣṭhi; and sometimes even the Greek, script. The Hindu oligarchies of the Panjab, which had managed to drag on in a sort of independence, used either Kharoṣṭhi or Brāhmi script depending on the affinities of their habitat. The Yaudheyas, the most important among these, used only the Brāhmi script for their coin-legends from the 2nd century B. C. till their eclipse by the Guptas towards the middle of the 4th century A. D. The language of the legends on the coins from the 2nd century B. C. to about the end of the 2nd century A. D., i. e. till they had not triumphed over the foreigners, the Kuṣāṇas and the Śakas, is Prākṛt, a little mixed with Samskṛt. After their victory, which established their short-lived sovereignty, they changed the legend both in its content and in its language. In good Samskṛt they proclaimed that the coins were issued by the Yaudheyas, "The holders of the chant of victory." [4]

Patañjali wrote his great commentary on Pāṇini's grammar about 150 B. C., contemporaneously with the rise of Puṣyamitra and his proclamation of the revival of Vedic culture through the celebration of the famous horse-sacrifice. The Samskṛt prose that Patañjali has left in his commentary is some of the most lucid and crisp prose that Samskṛt literature possesses. Yet Samskṛt for inscriptional purposes is not attested till its use in A. D. 150 in the standard classical form by Rudradāman, the Śaka Satrap who ruled from Ujjayini. The house of these Satraps though foreigners, was connected by marriage with the Śātavahanas of the Deccan and had got thoroughly Hinduised. Authentic use of this medium during this period by the representatives of the old Vedic culture are the additions made to the original epic poems of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* and some of the Sūtras. The tide

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of Samskṛt as the medium of the elite and even of the people was certainly rising. That is why Aśvaghoṣa, the famous Buddhist scholar, whose services the great Buddhist emperor Kaniṣka is believed to have enlisted for putting the Buddhist Canon into proper shape, presented his enchanting Life of Buddha, in Samskṛt poetry about A. D. 78. Towards the end of this period classical Samskṛt literature begins to bloom out in its full-fledged form. Samskṛt begins to be the language and Brāhmi, the script of inscriptions, whether laudatory, dedicatory or legal.

Religion was not only tried to be resuscitated in some of its ancient practices, which had long fallen into desuetude, but also a newer synthesis out of the critical thought based on personal God and devotion to Him was arrived at, long before the end of this period. If in the former task entire credit goes to the ancient families, in the latter the contribution of the foreigners is not insignificant.

It was in the matter of costume, however, that the most original contribution was made by the foreigners, the Kuṣāṇas and the Śakas. As will be clear in the sequel these people brought with them a new type of dress, some elements of which were incorporated in the national costume of some classes and have ever since remained an integral part of Indian dress. The whole period, from B. C. 320 to A. D. 320, may justly be described as Buddhistic-Formative.

This period provides us with the first irrefutable and concrete data about costume of the people in the large number of sculptures and some paintings that are preserved. The few pieces of colossal sculpture from Mathura, Besnagar and Patna, reliefs in the Deccan caves like Bhaja, Karle and Kanheri, the reliefs on the railings at Bodhagaya and Bharhut, the sculptures of Sanci and Mathura, Amaravati and Nagarjunikonda on the banks of the river Krsna, and paintings in some caves at Ajanta all taken together not only provide an artistic feast but also furnish a rich gallery of costume. The material supplied by plastic art is corroborated and supplemented by literary data casually offered by Buddhistic literature.

With the rise of Samudragupta to power about A. D. 320 Northern India again was brought under one sovereign and was ruled over from Pāṭaliputra. But the social and political events of the latter part of the last period had left sufficient traces not to allow the resurgence to reach the climax that was attained under the Mauryas. India west of the Rāvi had passed under Persian domination and it is an intriguing fact of political and military history of the time that the Great Imperial Guptas never went, or even sought to go, beyond this western limit. In the

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south, too, the Gupta suzerainty did not extend as far as that of Aśoka. Even though the Gupta Empire was thus much smaller than that of the Mauryas it seems to have achieved polititical integration over the extent of its dominions, and for more than a century and a half during which it was holding on, there was nowhere in India east of the Rāvi any political or military power that could defeat or even cross swords with its rulers. They were the undisputed Imperial sovereigns, which fact was first proclaimed by Samudragupta through the celebration of the horse-sacrifice, during their time. And this position they preserved in spite of their having to face, in their later career, the inroads of warlike hordes from Central Asia. They began by completing the extermination of foreign powers like the Śakas and Kuṣāṇas, stemmed the onrush of the Hūṇas for some time about A. D. 500, and weakened by their efforts, went down.

The foreign Hūṇas exploited their opportunity and established a kingdom in the Malwa region where two of their great rulers, Toramāṇa and his son Mihirakula, have left their marks. Within half a century the political power of the Hūṇas was completely uprooted; and they dwindled into a number of chieftaincies.

After the downfall of the Imperial Guptas, Northern India, or rather India, did not produce for a few centuries a monarch, much less a dynasty, competent enough to weld it into a single political unit. Even Harṣavardhana of Kanauj, who is the next great king of Northern India and ruled over its largest part about A. D. 610, could hardly count even Rajputana and Kathewad as parts of his domain, though his suzerainty over Assam was acknowledged. Moreover, in the Deccan the famous Cālukya monarch, Pulakeśin II, was so powerful that not only could Harṣa not defeat him but also he had to connive at some of his infringement on his own sphere of influence in Northern India. In fact it would be giving a truer picture of the political condition of India, during the period after Guptas and till the Khiljis, to describe it as parcelled out into a large number of kingdoms, among which from time to time two or three stood out simultaneously, prepared to contest for supremacy, none achieving it.

Another and fresh stock of foreigners seems to have poured into India about the time the Hūṇas were hammering it. They are known as the Gurjaras, who were already engaged in hostilities with Harṣa's father. The first individual from among them, whose name has come down to us, was Haricandra, who by then had not only got completely Hinduised but had managed to be a learned Brahmin teacher. The

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quiet Brahmin teacher realized his opportunity when Harṣa died; and like Puṣya-mitra before him he took to arms and founded the famous Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty of northern India. In south India, two more or less equally balanced powers held sway in this period. First came the Vākāṭakas and the more southern Kadambas and Pallavas; and then the Cālukyas and the Pallavas.

The Vākāṭakas, who were Brahmins, began to rise to power before A.D. 300 and had attained such eminence by the third quarter of the 4th century that the great Gupta emperor Candragupta II, usually styled Vikramāditya, gave his daughter in marriage to the crown prince of the dynasty in about A. D. 380. They were supplanted by the Cālukyas. Further south the Kadambas, another Brahmin family which took to arms, had raised themselves to such eminence by the middle of the 5th century A.D. that one of their daughters married into the proud Vākāṭaka family. In the south-east the Pallavas of Kānci had slowly risen to power by the 5th century A. D. And with their rise, for the first time a purely Dravidian power may be said to have impressed itself on the political and cultural history of the land. Before them the Coḷas and the Pāṇḍyas of the region further south had managed to keep their independence, both political and cultural, even when the great Aśoka had brought all other peoples under his suzerainty.

Harṣa died about A. D. 648. India west of the Sutlej, which was for a long time under the control of non-Indian rulers, was brougt under the rule of her nationals. The Brahmin vazir of the Shāhi kings usurped the throne about A.D. 650. From that time the Shāhi Brahmins kept control of the region to the west of the Yamunā. The Gangetic doab passed into the hands of the Gurjara-Pratihāras about A. D. 700. Arab conquest of Sind took place in A. D. 712. For the first time Bengal rose into political prominence when the Pāla dynasty, a mixed family of Ksatriyan Brahmins, established its power in about A. D. 750. South of the Narmadā, in the Deccan the great Cālukyas were supplanted by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas about A. D. 750. Further south and south-east the Pallavas, who had reached their zenith about A.D. 700, continued thereafter for two centuries. But by A.D. 750 they may be said to have more or less exhausted themselves. For first, in their dynastic account there is clear evidence of some revolution at about that time, and secondly, kings who ruled thereafter hardly distinguished themselves. Thirdly, they had already begun to suffer defeat at the hands of both the northern and perhaps also the more southern powers.

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Politically speaking, there are two clear landmarks, one about A. D. 500 which marks the decline of the glorious dynasty of the Imperial Guptas and the other about A. D. 750, so that historians are justified in regarding the interval from about A. D. 300 to about A. D. 500 as one period and that from A. D. 500 to about A. D. 750 as another. But for the purposes of our study there are weighty reasons why the period ushered in by the Imperial Guptas should be carried forward to about A. D. 1100.

Politically, the relations established by Islam, whether in the Kabul valley or in Sindh, had failed to get a foothold in hither India. The triangular tug of war for power which took place after A. D. 600 between Harṣa, Pulakeśin and the Pallavas occurred after A. D. 750 between the Pratihāras, the Pālas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. In the North–West the Brahmin Shāhis found that their courage and bravery could not stem the Islamic onslaught against their capital; and they transferred it further east. Yet the result was the same. The onslaught begun by Ghaznavid Islam about A. D. 950 ended about A. D. 1025 with its complete triumph and the uprooting of the Brahmin Shāhis. Arabic Islam from its foothold in Sind made for hither India and came within easy reach of Ujjayini about A. D. 730; but was finally turned back, so that in a way the thrust of Chaznavid Islam from the North–West may be looked upon as a sort of a deferred and deflected movement of the same force. In the Yamunā–Gangā doab the Pratihāra power reached its zenith at Kanauj about A. D. 850, and thereafter waned so much that about the first quarter of the tenth century its capital was occupied by a Rāṣṭrakūṭa king. The Gurjara–Pratihāra kingdom gloriously participated in the struggle of the Shāhis against Ghaznavid Islam but unlike its comrades finally capitulated to Mahmud of Ghazni. In Central India north of the Narmadā, the Caṇḍelās had already risen into power by the end of the 9th century. And though in the political annals of the country the triumphs of the Caṇḍelās do not shine out as those of some other Rajput clans, as for example those of the Cāhamānas (Cauhāns) who belong to the next period, yet their architectural achievements have immortalized them. The Pāla dynasty was successfully challenged in Bengal by the Senas about A. D. 1070. In the south, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas yielded place to the Clāukyas about A. D. 975. In the extreme south the Pallavas were being pressed by the Coḷas who began to rise about A. D. 880. The accession of the first great king of theirs and the downfall of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas coincided about A. D. 985, and the golden age of Coḷa dynasty began. Henceforward, the contest in the south lay between the Coḷas and the Western Cālukyas. In the north, too, one of the greatest among the Coḷa kings, Rājendra Coḷa I carried his arms to the banks of the Gangā

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defeating the Pāla forces, which, though defeated, proved resilient enough not to enable him to proceed further. With the death of Kulottunga in A. D. 1112 the fortunes of the family began to wane. We may therefore discern the end of a period of Indian history in about A.D. 1100. At that time both Sindh and the Panjab were firmly under the rule of Islamic powers. Hither India was parcelled out into a number of small kingdoms under the rule of about a dozen families, which were hardly at peace with one another.

The resurgence of Hindu religious practices which occurred in the last period went on with an unabating zeal from one corner of the country to the other. In the early part of the period there is classical tolerance about all the faiths, creeds and cults which were in existence. And some new ones were arising. But there was a good deal of heated controversy going on between the protagonists of Hinduism and their opponents, the Buddhists in particular. In the middle of the period there is evidence to show that some persecution was not unknown, and that magical practices of dubious morality under the cloak of religion were not uncommon in the highest circles. Whereas Vaiṣṇavism had remained more or less a single system of doctrine, without deteriorating into some of its later extravagances, within Śaivism at least one new sect, that of the Pāśupatas, had begun to thrive. Perhaps also the Śākta and the Durgā cults, with which later excesses are associated, began to be formulated at about this time. To the existence of demoniacal Śaiva sect of the Kāpālikas, making profuse use of wine, Bhavabhūti testifies. In this connection the work of Śankarācārya, the great exponent of the idealistic school of Hindu philosophy, who is believed to have lived in the first half of the 8th or 9th century and its subsequent transformation almost into a sect is very instructive. He dealt the mightiest of the blows to the decaying Buddhism in this land, yet he was known to his contemporaries and later co-religionists as a 'concealed' Buddhist. By a stroke of genius he even provided a unifying piece of organization in the founding of his religious centres in the already famous places of Hindu pilgrimage distributed over the length and breadth of the whole country. Nevertheless, such was the sectarian atmosphere of the age, that though his philosophy is the most widely current form of Hindu philosophy yet he is believed to have founded the sectarianism known as Smārta as opposed to that known as Vaiṣṇava. In the third part of the period many other sects began to take their rise. Rāmānuja's preaching in the 11th century not only created a sect amongst Vaiṣṇavas but provided them with a philosophy known as qualified monism. Though further schisms within the folds of Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism were the work of the next period, it is clear that sectarianism within Hindu-

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ism was well started on its career during the latter part of this. The demolishing aspect of Śankarācārya's work, though very important, did not accomplish the total suppression of Buddhism. The Pāla dynasty of Bengal, which rose into prominence at best only a generation after Śankarācārya, staunchly supported Buddhism. It was only towards the middle of the 11th century that their power began to suffer eclipse. The Brahmanic Sena dynasty came into power about A. D. 1070. Al-Biruni was informed that Vedic sacrifices, presupposing as they did long life which was no longer vouchsafed, were rarely performed and were practically non-existent.[5] From the viewpoint of the struggle of religious faiths and development of creeds, the period opening with the performance of the horse-sacrifice by Samudragupta ended only about A. D. 1100 with the complete overthrow of Buddhism and the firm implantation of sectarianism within Brahmanism.

Though the classicism which is characteristic of Gupta art does not end with the decline of the Imperial Guptas it did not certainly continue after A. D. 800. And temple-architecture by its peculiar history bridges the artistic gulf between the first and the second halves of our period. Hindu temple-architecture begins to develop from about A. D. 400 and does not attain its characteristic forms by even A. D. 650. Neither the extant temples of Northern India, ascribable to any date before A. D. 700, show the peculiar form of that architecture known as the Indo-Aryan style, nor even the finest specimens of Pallava temples at Kānci built between A. D. 700 and 740 exhibit the fully developed form of the Dravidian style. Though it is true that in the seventh and eighth centuries both in Orissa as well as in Dharwar and Bijapur districts two types of temples could be distinguished and were being built in juxtaposition, and that the Pallava temples are the lineal ascendants of the later Coḷa temples, yet the separation of the styles is not so complete as to conceal their common origin about three centuries earlier. Whereas the Indo-Aryan style embodies graceful dignity, the Dravidian represents imposing majesty. The finest example of the former is by common consent the Kandārya Mahādeva temple at Khajurāho in Bundelkhand. It was built by a Caṇḍelā king in about A. D. 1050. The culmination of the Dravidian style was reached in the great temples at Tanjore and at Gangaikoṇḍacoḷapuram built by Coḷa monarchs in about A. D. 1000 and 1025 respectively.[6] From the viewpoint of art as a whole the era begun by the Imperial Guptas culminated about A. D. 1100, after which there is only elaboration and hardly any original development.

Samskṛt as the language of elite intercourse and of decrees, proclamations, laudations and dedications was fully established during the first third of this period.

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Though the Brāhmi script in Northern India shows only slight variations, the prototype of the later North Indian script and that from which the South Indian alphabets developed begin to show their differentiation. From about the 6th century the Pallava and other inscriptions begin to be more or less bilingual. They are in Samskṛt as well as in one of the regional languages, like Kannada, Tamil or Telugu. Some literature in Tamil is definitely older than the 6th century but its rich flow begins about the 8th century, when also the inscriptions begin to be written largely in Tamil or in the regional language. The first Samskṛt work to be rendered into Tamil was Rāmāyaṇa composed in the 11th century. The script also is henceforward clearly distinguishable from that of the North. The earliest extant Devanāgari documents are ascribed to the middle or the end of the 8th century A. D., in which thereafter Samskṛt was generally written outside the Dravidian South. The Nandināgari and the Grantha scripts in which Samskṛt came to be preserved in the South and which moulded the later South Indian alphabets also appear about the same time. In Northern India, though various Prakṛts had been the spoken tongues used by the people at large for a long while and some form of what is known later as Braja–Bhākhā was the spoken tongue about the tenth century, yet the linguistic differentiation from one part to the other of the vast plains was not marked enough to be observed and appreciated by such a serious and acute foreign student as Al–Biruni. For in the first quarter of the eleventh century he spoke of the language of Hindostan being one. And literary work in early Hindi is dated not earlier than A. D. 1100.[7] So great was the homogeneity brought about by the consolidating function of Samskṛt patronised by the Imperial Guptas.

Samskṛt literature proper ceased to be produced thereafter in any bulk. It is very significant that the last third of the period was a glorious epoch in Samskṛtic literary, scientific and philosophic activity, almost as significant as the first third was in pure literature, if we place the great Śankarācārya in the 9th century A.D. Next to Śankara's epoch-making contribution in philosophy, which as we know roused the Hindu philosophic intellect from its long torpor, is that of Vācaspatimiśra in Sāṁkhya philosophy, a branch allied to the Vedānta, whose work *Sāṁkhyatattva–Kaumudi*, though only a commentary, is even more authoritative on the Sāṁkhyakārikā than Śankara's on Vedāntasūtras. It provided, about the first part of the 9th century, the best methodical account of the Sāṁkhya tenets. Vācaspatimiśra appears to have been a Northerner. Thus the South and the North cooperated in a manner. In the history of Poetics, Alaṁkāraśāstra as it is known, this part of the period registers the greatest triumph. Kane, the well-known student of poetics and 'dharmaśāstra',

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singles out three works in the realm of Alaṁkāraśāstra as the most significant contributions. Of these, two belong to the last third of this period. First of these is Ānandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka*, composed at the court of Kashmir between A. D. 855–883; and the second, is *Kāvyaprakāśa* of Mammaṭa, a Kashmirian, who composed his famous work about A. D. 1100. Mammaṭa not only summed up the whole position of Poetics critically but also opened up new lines of approach. Kane assigns to Ānandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka* the same status in Poetics as that of the Vedāntasūtras of Bādarāyaṇa in Vedānta philosophy or that of Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini in Grammar. Mammaṭa's work he ranks with Patañjali's in Grammar. To make the triumph of activity in Poetics complete we may mention that Abhinavagupta wrote his commentary on Ānandavardhana's work in the first quarter of the eleventh century. This commentary, in Kane's opinion, is as important in Poetics as Śankara's commentary on *Vedāntasūtras* is in Vedānta. It is interesting to note that though Mammaṭa opened up a new approach in Poetics it was long before an adequate genius could arise and make the third seminal contribution. The fact that the third great contributor, when he finally arrived, happened to be a Telugu Brahmin–Jagannātha, the author of *Rasagangādhara*[8] – supports my contention that about A. D. 1100 marks the end of a great period, during which the contributions of North Indians to Samskṛtic learning were the most important and extensive.

In pure literature there is reflection of the impaired sense of values shown in the erotic sculptures in the temple at Khajurāho. After the 9th century A.D. there is hardly any pure literature produced in this period comparable to that of the earlier part. The only relieving feature is some work of Kashmirian poet, Bilhaṇa who flourished about the end of the 11th century. His poem *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, is the first kingly biography and history of a sort we have in Samskṛt language. But the same Bilhaṇa, reflecting his time and the almost morbid sex interest, wrote the poem, *Caurisuratapañcāśikā*, describing illicit love in rather inordinate words. It will have been evident that the last part of our period is the most glorious epoch in the literary history of Kashmir. That the period was an epoch, which might have continued longer and progressed is shown by the fact that Kalhaṇa, another Kashmirian, who among all Samskṛt authors is the only one who has given us something like a history, wrote his famous work, *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, at Benares about A. D. 1150.

The period culturally speaking is one towards the end of which fissiparous tendencies appear, which from our retrospective knowledge we now see to have been

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prophetic. Is it a mere accident that the main two rival schools of law of inheritance and succession, that of the *Mitākṣarā* and of the *Dāyabhāga*, get their classic presentation at the end of this period? Kane places the literary activity of Vijñāneśvara, the celebrated author of the *Mitākṣarā*, between A. D. 1070 and 1100 and that of Jīmūtavāhana, the equally well-known author of the Dāyabhāga, between A.D. 1090 and 1130.[9] Again there is an irony. In the very moment of great juristic triumph, at the time when Hindu jurisprudence may be said to have made its brilliant achievement, the clear cleavage between two parts of the country in the matter of family sentiments gives rise to two rival schools of law, which are being harmonised only at the end of the decade of the fifth 20th century.

Kings appearing towards the end of this period, too, illustrate the same ironical state of affairs. There is the great Bhoja of Dhārā who was not only a liberal patron of learning and arts, as many kings of this period, beginning with Samudragupta and the more famous son of his, the almost mythical Vikramāditya, were, but was also an author of works on the technical subjects of architecture, astronomy, poetics and 'dharmaśāstra'. His reign ended about A. D. 1060. The career of the erratic king Harṣa of Kashmir epitomizes the greatness and the decay of Hindu spirit. He flourished in the 11th century and exhibited the characteristic flicker of Hindu coordination and unification seen in some aspects in the latter part of our period. To a student of Indian costume he is very important. This æsthete was a leader of fashion. And in his endeavour of promulgating becoming dress he cast his glance round about him in his own country, India. Selecting certain items of dress common among Indians outside Kashmir he exhorted his people to adopt them. He was a courageous and a generous monarch in the first part of his reign but became very capricious and irreligious in the latter part. His personal transformation led him to the length of plundering and desecrating Hindu temples in Kashmir. His immoral and irreligious ways ultimately led to a rising as a result of which he was murdered.[10]

The distorted sense of values exhibited by this temperamental monarch, being partly a replica of some activity of Ghaznavid Islam against the Hindus, must be looked upon as a portent, as a sign of the waning of faith. There were other signs indicating a general unbalance of values making themselves apparent even earlier. Without entering into a discussion as to whether attitude towards sex is a central and fundamental feature of a society or not, it may be asserted that a certain decorum about it evinces a balanced life in so far as it reflects absence of an obsession

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about it. Moderately worded love-scenes have never been lacking in Samskṛt literature. We may understand even Vātsyāyana dealing with the subject of sex in the specialist's manner he has done, though some of his account is positively pornographic, without getting nervous about it. The quickened interest in sex shown in the poet Amaruka's work, *Amaruśataka*, which is an entirely erotic piece of poetry of the end of the 7th century, too, is not offending. But when Bhavabhūti, writing in the beginning of the 8th century A. D., introduces in his social drama, *Mālatī-mādhava*, a scene in which young girls of marriageable age, in conversation with a Buddhist nun, who is their helper, describe the actual feelings of unsatisfied sex-desire and their physical marks in the language of the people, we feel we are moving in a society which revels in pornographic account of sex and is beset with sex-obsession. We contrast this blatant account with the descriptions of many such occasions portrayed with exuberance about sixty years earlier in his romance *Kādambarī*, by Bāṇa, who was early chided for sowing his wild oats by his imperial patron, Harṣavardhana of Kanauj. And we feel the change in the social tempo. Murāri in his drama, *Anargharāghava*, following Bhavabhūti a generation or so after him, introduces a girl-friend of the heroine, Sītā, as describing the sex-consciousness of the heroine to a male who stands to her in the position of her grandfather, under the cloak of privileged behaviour. The rising tide of sex-obsession is evident in the sculptures of the Kandārya Mahādeva temple at Khajurāho in Bundelkhand, though the actual climax in this line was reserved for the sculptures of the Sun temple at Konārak in Orissa built about two centuries later. The temple of Kandārya Mahādeva at Khajurāho, which was built before A.D. 1050, is unanimously acclaimed as the finest specimen of Hindu temple in the Indo-Aryan style. Coomaraswamy has noted the incongruity of the erotic scenes sculptured in the friezes of this Śaiva shrine. These incongruities, this utter absence of the sense of values, are a sign of decadence. It is an index, which, considered along with other cultural development, demonstrates the running down of the vital spirit of Hinduism.

The period from A. D. 320 to c A. D. 1100 must be treated as a composite unit, and may fitly be described from one point of view as Brāhmanic-Sectarian and from another as Classical–Disintegrative.

This is the period of stabilization of costume, which, in keeping with political and cultural centrifugality of the latter part of the period, gives clear indications of its taking regional aspects. The classical literature of the period, in its dramas, romances and poems, gives us a fair picture of the national and unified costume. Its

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evidence is corroborated and supplemented by contemporary sculpture and painting, which, however, have begun to reflect regional peculiarities. Paintings at Ajaṇṭā, sculptures at Sārnāth, Deogarh, Rājāsan, Pawāyā, Suratgadh in the north, at Verula and in other caves in the Deccan, at Mahābilipura near Madras, and at Kānci, furnish almost a gallery of contemporary costume. Almost the entire evidence from Samskṛt literature belongs here. Works of Rājaśekhara and Kalhaṇa describe regional peculiarities. The Chinese pilgrims, Fa-hien, Yuan Chwang and I-tsing, the early Muslim historians, and the most painstaking Persian Muslim observer and recorder, Al-Biruni, provide independent testimony.

The work of Islamic aggression over this country begun by the Ghaznavids was carried forward with force and fervour by the Ghoris, so that after A. D. 1100 the history of Northern India is principally one of Muslim victory and advance. No doubt the Hindu powers, whether singly or in combination, offered resistance, that too rather stiff, from time to time. But the story is uniform in this that in spite of large numbers and great valour every great battle ended in the utter defeat and great massacre of the Hindus. By the end of the 13th century Muslim domination of Northern India, excepting Kashmir and parts of Gujarat, was almost complete. By the beginning of the 14th century the then ruling Muslim power, in its mission of forcible acquisition of famous Hindu beauties, having prostrated Northern India proceeded South. And about the end of the first decade the whole of India was under an Islamic suzerain, who ruled over the land from Delhi. This happened to be the first Muslim empire in India, which was later repeated more than once till about the year A. D. 1730. During this period of four centuries, not only the representatives of old Hindu powers but even new ones bestirred themselves or arose from time to time to fight the Islamic oppression and consequent de–Hinduization of the populace. But none of them attained an all–India status. The utmost success achieved by the most stubborn of the valiant Rajput powers in Northern India consisted in their dragging on an emaciated existence in some kind of independence for a generation or two at the most.

It was as if the North had discharged its debt to the mother country long before, and it was now the turn of the people of the South to run to her rescue. For it must be remembered that formerly when the Greeks, the Kuṣāṇas, the Śakas and the Hūṇas had established themselves in the land it was the northern powers that after repeated attempts and much loss uprooted the foreigners. Very soon after the establishment of Islamic rule in Sindh, the great southern power, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas,

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locked in struggle for power with the Northern Hindu power, the Gurjara–Pratihāras, conspired with the Arab conquerors and persuaded them to advance towards Malwa. Even the predecessors of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the Cālukyas, were in touch with a distant foreign power, the Persians. What exactly was the purpose of the Persian embassy at the court of the great Cālukyan monarch, Pulakeśin, is not ascertained but the event is intriguing, in view of the fact that Pulakeśin was engaged in a struggle with a great northern power, Harṣavardhana of Kanauj. The closer knowledge of Islamic culture and the experience of Islamic invasions and rule gained during about six centuries that elapsed between the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the end of the Yādavas of Deogiri had evidently awakened the people of the South to their responsibility for the preservation of Hindu culture. For about the end of the fourteenth century, even when, as we shall see presently, the linguistic separateness of the country had gone far, there arose a new power in the South which fought and fought the Muslim states bordering on its north and east and kept its independence in a magnificent and virile style for two centuries from about A. D. 1365 to A. D. 1565. The empire of Vijayānagar suffering repeated defeats held aloft the banner of Hinduism effectively during this period. It was never an all–India power, but as a culture–regenerative agency its achievements vie with those of the Imperial Guptas. And it held the whole of India south of the Kṛṣṇā. When it was finally crushed by the combined effort of the Islamic powers of Southern India in A. D. 1565, the triumph of Islam was almost complete. By A. D. 1600 Akbar had succeeded in reducing in effect the whole of Northern India. From then onwards for about three quarters of a century Islamic powers were almost the supreme rulers all over the land. Thereafter another new Southern power slowly rises into prominence. It is the Marāṭhas of the Deccan, who, first with harassing capacity and only later with dictating strength, carved out a kingdom which became by A. D. 1720 an empire. By A. D. 1730, the sway of the Marāṭhas was all over India, as the greatest single power among all those that contended for control. Though it suffered great reverses its inherent strength was so great that it digested them and kept itself as the leading power almost till A. D. 1800. From A. D. 1802 with the treaty of Bassein between the Peshwā and Wellesley supremacy passed into the British hands.

The centrifugal and fissiparous tendencies which had manifested themselves towards the latter part of the last period now got easy mastery owing to the absence of a great political power among the Hindus. Political unifying power as well as patronage being in the hands of hostile foreigners, Samskṛt receded into the back-ground much more quickly than it would otherwise have done. First, the early

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centre of Hindu culture, the Gangā–Yamunā doab, and from the end of the 13th century the whole of India north of the Narmadā, was reeling under the cruel wounds and terrific shocks inflicted by the Islamic power. Cultural process was naturally moribund for a long time excepting for the production of some bardic poetry in Hindi at Rajput courts.

The Hindu spirit, beaten on the military and political arena, more and more turned its attention to the religious field of domestic dimensions. It found the field of devotional religion, which was very properly laid out during the fourteen or fifteen centuries that had elapsed between the preacher of the *Bhagavadgītā* and Rāmānuja, quite congenial for compensatory exercises. In Northern India it picked up the story of boy Kṛṣṇa and his love for cowherdesses of the region round Mathurā. And, as Dr. S. K. De[11] has pointed out, about the 12th century A.D. there were four schools of thought within the Vaiṣṇava movement. It is instructive to note here: first, that the first vernacular Tamil poetry is believed to be that of the songs of the Vaiṣṇava devotees of the South; and secondly, that the expression of illicit love was first given through Prākṛt language; and thirdly, that a close relationship between erotic sentiments and religious institutions had already been established. It is no wonder thus to find that the defeated Hindu spirit in Northern India planted the field of devotional religion with wild and exuberant shrubs of erotic sentiments, which flowered through the medium of Bengali and Hindi and some other modern Indian languages. Nimbārka, a Telugu Brahmin who settled in the Mathurā region, is believed to be the first systematic promulgator of the cult of Rādhā as the glorified mistress of Kṛṣṇa, through a philosophico–religious treatise written in Samskṛt about the beginning of the 12th century. The activity of the great poet and artiste, Jayadeva of Bengal, who is believed to have flourished in the latter half of the 12th century and was a junior contemporary of Nimbārka, is one of the most typical. He wrote the justly famous Samskṛt work *Gītagovinda*, which is a drama, sung and danced, and thus represents the culmination of an early trait into the opera. It is characterized by the highest kind of lyricism. But it is marred by voluptuous sentiment centred round the illicit love of Kṛṣṇa for Rādhā. As if not satisfied that his Samskṛtized erotic religion will catch the public, Jayadeva wrote poems in Bengali. Rāmānuja attempted through his Samskṛt and philosophized religious system to focus the attention of the Vaiṣṇavas on the affection aspect of the deity by reference to his consorts Lakṣmī, Bhū and Līlā. But it is clear from the further history of religious development that somehow the popular mind of the North could not feel satisfied with pure affection of that type. Rāmānuja never got a following

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there. The distorted sense of values I have postulated for the latter part of the last period from references to sex, whatever the cause, had taken hold of it. Nimbārka's Samskṛtized version was not the stuff to fulfil the needs of a popular presentation of such matters.

As Dineschandra Sen has pointed out the decadent phase of Buddhism in Bengal was marked by the incorporation of sensuous practices like the use of a married woman, indulgence in meat and wine, and even incest in their secret cult, and by the use of the Bengali language for the propagation of the cult after the 10th century. The Pathan kings of Bengal patronised the use of Bengali from the 13th century; and Hindu princes, wherever left, followed their practice. About the first quarter of the 14th century Vidyāpati Thākur sang of the illicit love of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā in Maithili and Caṇḍidāsa through his passionate Bengali songs proclaimed the tenets of the Sahajia sect of Vaiṣṇavism. One of the doctrines of the sect was that salvation could be secured only through loving a low-caste married woman. Mirābāi sang her devotional songs about Kṛṣṇa in the form of Ranchor in Rājasthāni in the beginning of the 15th century. Gujarati literature appearing about the beginning of the 14th century betrays the influence of the Bengal variety of Kṛṣṇa cult.

It is very curious that about the end of the 15th century a Telugu Brahmin, Vallabhācārya, settled in the region about Mathurā and carried on the preaching of Nimbārka in a more developed form through Samskṛt. This time the soil was quite ready for turning the Samskṛtic seed into the vernacular plant, flowers and fruit. His contemporary in Bengal, the great Vaiṣṇava reformer Caitanya, preached through Bengali not only the sensuous cult of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa as Vallabha did further West but unlike the latter he also condemned the distinction of caste and admitted even Muslims as his pupils. He and his school were ridiculed by the Kāli-worshippers of Bengal. The amours of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā attempted to be presented in a spiritual garb by Vallabha and Caitanya, were passionately sung in Gujarati by Narasimha Mehta (c. 1500–c. 1580), who is considered to be one of the greatest of Gujarati poets and hailed as a veritable messiah by the followers of Vallabha sect.

The sensuous sect of Vaiṣṇavism, centred round Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, as preached by Nimbārka was not allowed to prosper unchallenged. About the very time Vidyāpati Thākur in Bihar and Caṇḍidāsa in Bengal were promulgating the tenets of this creed, Rāmānanda a North Indian Brahmin follower of Rāmānuja started

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three great innovations. He began to use the vernaculars as the media for the propagation of his creed and substituted the non-sensuous worship of Rāma and Sītā. The cult of Rāma is believed to have been formulated about the 11th century. And the first actual propagation of it is not attested earlier than the time of Rāmānanda. The third innovation of Rāmānanda was even bolder and more radical. He courageously set at naught the distinctions of caste. All members of his sect he ruled could dine together, whether they were Brahmins or members of the degraded castes. His preaching of the chaster worship of Rāma and Sītā did not catch the public mind, yet we cannot but refer Caitanya's zeal for social reform to his example. Though Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa form of sensuous Vaiṣṇavism did not feel the force of the challenge then, a definite beginning to bring back Hindu society from sensuous cults to chaster forms of worship was made. And when Tulasīdāsa sang the praises of Rāma in his telling Eastern Hindi, during half a century from A. D. 1570 to about A. D. 1620 Northern India, east of Kanauj and west of Kāśī-Benares, was almost weaned away from the sensuous cult of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā to the chaster worship of Rāma and Sītā, though a generation previously the great Western Hindi poet Sūr Dās, who died in 1563, had chanted the doings of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.[12] In the religious as in the political field the South reacted differently. R. G. Bhandarkar opined that Śaivism was introduced in the Tamil South after the 4th century A. D., when the Brahmanic revival had started on its career in the North and that the situation that called for its introduction was the same as in the North. Buddhism and Jainism had taken fairly deep roots in the South and to fight them both Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism were propagated by their Northern adherents. However and whenever it might have got there, it is very interesting to note that by the seventh century A. D. the Tamil practitioners of Śaivism had made themselves experts in some of its mysterious and miracle-working aspects. Bāṇa, the famous author of the *Harṣacharita* and the *Kādambarī*, informs us that Harṣa's father had apprenticed himself to Bhairavānanda, the Dravida or Tamil head of the particular sect of Śaivism, then permanently residing at Thaneswara, near Delhi. Through the ascetic's miracle-working Harṣa's father was blessed with children.

At least two extremist Śaiva sects, holding tenets not only promising miraculous power but sanctioning practices enabling the devotees to indulge in wine, meat and women as sacred, were already developed by the 11th century A. D. One of these had its principal shrine in South India. The practices sanctioned and even fervently enjoined by these sects were, some of them, not only libertine but also thoroughly revolting. It was as it were Hindu humanity, being repressed during

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more than a millenium by the preachings of Buddhism and more so by those of Jainism and baulked in the satisfaction of its desire for meat and drink, took to orgiastic indulgence in them, when it found the inhibitors' influence on the wane. The literature in which these cults were embodied, called the *Tantras*, had come to be recognised as of parallel and equal authority with the Vedas by the 13th century A. D. Kullūka, a native of Bengal, commenting on Manu, II, 1, testifies to this fact.

Appayyā Dikṣitar (1552–1624) attempted in a Samskṛt work of his to unite the two streams of belief, the Vedic, which may be said to represent the Aryan aspect, and the Āgamic, which may be looked upon as the non–Aryan. Vaiṣṇavism as formulated and preached by Rāmānuja in the 12th century and by Madhva in the 13th was calculated to diminish the influence of these Śaiva sects in the South. We find Kṛṣṇamiśra observing that the naked Jaina sect and the Kāpālika Śaiva sect had gradually retired to the countries of the Mālvas and the Ābhīras, leaving other regions. Just as in North India within Vaiṣṇavism had arisen the Rāma cult which achieved fair success in purification of the worship by the middle of the 17th century, so in South India within Śaivism an older sect was strengthened and preached by Basava towards the middle of the 12th century. The Lingāyatism which was thus established, however, developed on altogether different lines from the path traversed by Rāma cult. It developed as a rival to the Brahmanic system. In this it went even beyond the attempts of the Buddhists and the Jainas, "who did not set up for themselves a special system of social relations and domestic rites."[13]

It is remarkably in keeping with the political and cultural set–up that we find that though Tamil was the language used by the Śaiva saints to chant the praises of Śiva as the Vaiṣṇava saints had done in the case of Viṣṇu and though the epic *Mahābhārata* was rendered by the Jainas into Kannada in the 10th century, yet the principal literature of Vaiṣṇavism, Lingāyatism and Śaivism emanating from South India was in Samskṛt. Whereas the language of inscriptions and of translation had come to be the vernaculars, Tamil and Kannada, the language of original preaching remained pure Samskṛt. From the time Śankarācārya, who was a South Indian, produced his classic on Hindu philosophy until the death of Vallabhācārya the most authoritative and important literature on religio–philosophical systems comprising Hinduism, including Lingāyatism, was produced by South Indians and that too in Samskṛt. Rāmānuja, a Tamilian, produced a classic on one Vaiṣṇava school in the 12th century; Madhva, a Tuluva or a Kannada Brahmin, formulated another school of Vaiṣṇava thought in the 13th; and Nimbārka and Vallabha, both

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Telugu Brahmins, founded and developed the third and the most extreme form of Vaiṣṇavism. Śankarācārya, Rāmānuja, Madhva, Vallabha and Śrikanṭhaśivācārya are known as the great commentators *(Bhāṣyakāras)* as they presented their systems of philosophy each in a commentary on the standard work on Vedanta philosophy by Bādarāyaṇa, ascribed to the 2nd century B. C. The first three also commented on most of the Upaniṣads and on the Bhagavadgītā. All this was offered in Samskṛt.

In between comes the great Mādhava, significantly called Vidyāraṇya, who founded no new school. Yet his services to Hindu religio–philosophical literature are great. This prodigiously learned scholar crowned his literary activity with a detailed commentary on the *Parāśarasmṛti*, which is a veritable concordance of Dharma–literature, and is so important that the whole work is known as *Parāśara–Mādhavīya*. He wrote in Samskṛt a spirited account of the doings of the great Śankarācārya. Sāyaṇa, whose complete commentary on the Ṛgveda is the first and perhaps the surest guide to the interpretation of that important document and who found time to elucidate some of the mystical and enigmatic writings called the *Brāhmaṇas*, is known to be his brother. A Mādhava, who is believed by some to be the son of Sāyaṇa and by others to be the same as the above gave a masterly account of the principal systems of Hindu philosophy in his *Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha*, which has ever since remained a standard work. Appayyā Dikṣitar, whose activity in Śaivite philosophy is already mentioned, was such a versatile and prolific writer that over a hundred works are ascribed to him. Three of them at least are on Poetics, in which science he seems to have been bitterly opposed to his brilliant younger contemporary, Jagannātha. The latter, who was a Telugu Brahmin, carried on his main literary activity between A. D. 1620 and 1660. His famous work, *Rasagaṅgādhara*, which is the last great work on Poetics in Samskṛt, makes the history of that branch of knowledge unique amidst Samskṛtic learning. In most other branches of knowledge the last or the almost last work hardly ever attains a very high standard of excellence in its own branch, much less such extraordinary brilliance and authority as that of the *Rasagaṅgādhara* in Poetics.[14]

The doings of Mahārāṣṭra in respect both of the religio-philosophical content as well as the medium of its expression are singularly remarkable. At the end of the last period Mahārāṣṭra had produced almost the greatest jurist among the Hindus. It is well known that the system of law which Vijñāneśvara formulated in his commentary, called the Mitākṣarā, has been held to be authoritative almost over the whole of India, except Bengal. Once Vijñāneśvara had written, even the ancient

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long-continued and brilliant Mithilā school of jurists had to yield place to him on many points of difference. Small wonder then that the endeavour of the Draviḍa Devannabhaṭṭa to supplant him on certain disputed points through his *Smṛticandrikā*, composed in the first quarter of the 13th century, did not bear fruit. Another Draviḍa Brahmin, Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa, who moved to Kāśī-Benares and whose literary activity culminated in the work *Madanapārijāta* between A. D. 1360 and 1390, formed a leading authority of the Benares school of law. It has long been held that neither *Smṛticandrikā* nor *Madanapārijāta* can override *Mitākṣarā*. Yet in our period the first great literary endeavour of Mahārāṣṭra took its shape in the vernacular Marāṭhi and not in Samskṛt, though as will be presently evident Samskṛtic learning of the highest order was not neglected in that land. I refer to the *Jñāneśvari* of Jñāndev which was written in A. D. 1290. Its tone and subject-matter distinguished the religio-philosophical upheaval in Mahārāṣṭra from those in other linguistic regions of India where it took shape in the vernacular of the region. Its chasteness is comparable to the preaching of Rāmānuja but its emotional appeal is immensely greater. This chasteness of tone and high moral flavour throughout distinguished the development of the religion of personal God which took rise about this time. Jñāndev not only interpreted the *Bhagavadgītā* to the common man but in doing so he produced the greatest classic of Marāṭhi. His services to Mahārāṣṭra and the Hindus compare with those of Dante, his exact contemporary, to Italy and the Europeans. Nāmdev, about a quarter of a century later, preached the doctrine of devotion to personal God, centring it round Viṭhobā of Paṇḍharpur. His influence was great; and he even composed in Hindi. Some of his poems are included in the sacred book of the Sikhs. In the same line, but even more poetic and appealing, came Tukārāma whose preaching and composing activity filled the first half of the 17th century, the formative period of Shivāji, the great Mahārāṣṭra leader, who successfully arrested the Islamic aggression in the Deccan and effectively helped in the downfall of the Moghul Empire. Contemporary with him there was another preacher and Marāṭhi poet, who as a devotee of Rāma may be said to have spread the cult of Rāma and Hanumān in Mahārāṣṭra, but is better known as the moralizer whose main aim was to rouse the conscience of Mahāraṣṭra to its political destiny. He was Rāmdās, the bachelor wandering preacher, who reflected the spirit of the Mahārāṣṭra that was arising under Shivāji's inspired guidance and of the Mahārāṣṭra that was soon to be.[15]

The tradition of contributing to the normative literature of law and custom so ably begun by Vijñāneśvara was taken up and continued through Samskṛt by

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other Mahārāṣṭriya scholars, while the religious preachers above referred to were creating the new tradition of moralized and devotional religion through Marāṭhi. Hemādri, who flourished towards the end of the 13th century and was senior to Mādhava by about half a century, composed an encyclopaedia of ancient religious rites and observances, styled *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*, which within a few decades became authoritative in the Deccan and in South India. He vies with Mādhava both in learning and literary activity and surpasses him in practical energy, being the originator of the cursive script called 'modi' and of a fresh style of temple-architecture. Then in the first three quarters of the 17th century three scholars, Nīlakaṇṭha, Kamalākara and Anantadeva made significant contributions on the same subject. Of the *Mayūkhas* of Nīlakaṇṭha the one on *Vyavahāra* or law proper is well known and has authority in Gujarat. His brother Kamalākara, not only composed a code of law and observances for the Śūdras but also an encyclopaedic work on law and observances for the whole of the Hindu populace. This work, styled *Nirṇaya-Sindhu*, well known for its lucid erudition, is judicially referred to as an authority. Anantadeva, who was the fifth descendant of Ekanātha, the famous religious reformer and Marāṭhi religious poet, composed a vast digest on law called *Smṛtikaustubha*.

It will be realized from the above narration that the people south of the Narmadā had taken their role in the continuance and progress of Hindu culture quite seriously during this period. They contributed significantly to three important aspects of life and culture. Normative aspect, represented by law, customs and rites, was synthesized and codified. Poetics was given final touches. Fresh and important religio-philosophical systems were formulated and propagated. Of these aspects, in the North only codification was the activity ably carried on and that, too in Mithilā, Northern Bihar. If South India did not produce any piece of pure literature in Samskṛt it was because literary impulse of the Samskṛtic culture seems to have been exhausted. In North India where the tradition, language and literature were cradled, no Samskṛt poet who deserves mention flourished after the 12th century A. D.

As a matter of fact the first half of the twelfth century produced three or four great intellects. Of these, poet Śrīharṣa, reckoned in tradition as the fourth and the last 'great poet', wrote not only the *Naiṣadhīya*, his great poem, but also a philosophical treatise. This latter styled, *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya*, is described by S. Radhakrsnan as, "the greatest work of 'Advaita' dialectics."[16] It is interesting to note that Śrīharṣa was probably a South Indian, his mother's name being Māmalla-devī. Kalhaṇa, a Kashmirian who had to shift to Kāśī-Benares, wrote the only book

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extant in Samskṛt which is some kind of history. Further east in Bengal a new school of logic was begun by Gangeśa with his *Tattvacintāmaṇi*, written about A.D. 1200. Thereafter strangely the Nyāya-system is believed to have degnerated into barren scholasticism. And Jayadeva wrote his great lyric, the last of its kind, Gītagovinda.

There is evidence that interest in sex was further aroused. Yaśodhara's commentary on Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* called *Jayamaṅgalā*, was written between A. D. 1243–1261. Without it Vātsyāyana's work is hardly intelligible. Another work on erotics, *Anaṅgaraṅga* by Kalyāṇamalla was written by the author in the 16th century to please the then Muslim ruler of Oudh. As against this it appears that it was in the reign of Akbar that some other literary and scientific activity through Samskṛt took place. Thus practical interest in astronomy is a legacy of his reign, while his finance minister Raja Toḍarmal, under the Samskṛtic appellation of Toḍarānanda, wrote a compendium on civil and religious law, astronomy and medicine.[17] On the whole India west of Kāśī-Benares had her Samskṛtic impulse dried up by A. D. 1200 and her intellectual activity, under the great shock of Islamic domination, had come to a standstill. The role of the South in the task of keeping the soul not only alive but in full energy, above adumbrated, is thus fully substantiated.

The temple–architecture continued to be vital in Northern India till about the end of the 13th century. But as the great Sun temple at Koṇārak in Orissa, which is the greatest temple of Northern India in this period, shows by its extremely sensuous sculptures, the obsession of sex had got complete hold of the people. After this temple erected in A. D. 1250 there was hardly any important temple constructed for a long time. And when in the tolerant reign of Akbar the Hindus of Northern India could afford to think of erecting new temples their attempts demonstrated the great change that had come over the country. The following observation of Brown about a temple built towards the end of Akbar's reign at Mathurā deserves to be noted carefully. "The Govind Dev temple signifies, as comprehensively as any building could do, the change that had taken place in the constitution of this country, owing to the conditions brought about by the Islamic domination, a change, in the case of building art, from the æsthetically natural to the ordered conventional ..... there is at the same time an almost complete absence of that quality of humanism, together with a deficiency in that supreme spiritual content which one has learned to expect incorporated in the design of all Hindu temples of the more orthodox type." [18] In the South this was the period of Pāṇḍya temples which show some-

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what of an unbalance of values. Instead of the temple proper being the grand structure its gate becomes the cynosure of the public gaze. And everything moves on a grand and even grandiose scale. The temple almost becomes in the fashion of Ancient Egypt a whole town. Concurrently with this change is observable in all the temples built after the 14th century not only the Baroque tendency of contorted figures, [19] but in their grotesque repetition even the Rococo.

All this is evidence that the spirit of Hindu culture was getting tired, and preferred to run in grooves rather than try new, virile and befitting experiments. Not only did a king of Vijayānagar named Immadi Praudhadevarāya, write a book on erotics between A. D. 1422 and 1448 but as noted by Portugese travellers the kings generally maintained prostitutes as a gainful department of the State. Kauṭilya had allowed the king to take the earnings of prostitutes.[20] But the Vijayānagar kings went very much further and maintained them as a department. What a change in values! Even the rise of the Marāṭha power was not able during its short span to regenerate the artistic spirit which was bruised by Islamic domination and badly cut into by the new linguistic separateness.

The whole period from A. D. 1100 to A. D. 1800 from the political point of view must be styled Islamic-Hindu. Islamic powers dominated till about A. D. 1730, though from time to time and here and there Hindu powers asserted themselves. From about 1730 to 1800 a Hindu power, the Marāṭhas, definitely figured as the single strongest power.

From the cultural viewpoint it is clear that the Hindu spirit turned inwards and asked a number of questions regarding its philosophy of life. The answers were partly given in Samskṛt and after the 13th century mostly in the different vernaculars of the various linguistic and ethnic units into which by then the Hindu populace had communalized itself. Hibernation did not produce a resurgent culture but only a transitional stage of provincial cultures. It not only ended the era of cultural unity and uniformity achieved through Samskṛt, the common medium of the elite, but also established the new epoch of differentiated cultures without any such integrating factor. It is thus a Hibernative–Transitional period.

For costume the importance of this period lies not so much in the introduction of the new dress by the Islamic powers—a dress which, with very slight differences, was more or less uniform for them over the whole of the country–as in the fact of its uniformity and in the influence it had in introducing some kind of

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uniformity in dress for Hindu royalty all over the land. Accounts of Islamic and European travellers, biographical details of Babur and Akbar, presented by himself in the case of the former and by his minister in the case of the latter, Gujarāti, Rājasthāni and Moghul paintings are the main sources of our information, eked out here and there by literary data.

The interval from about A. D. 1800, when the British emerged as the single power capable of holding India, to the 15th August 1947, when India got back her independence, forms the last period of Indian history. During it the British first brought the whole country under one political dominion as it was under Aśoka about 2000 years earlier and then either connived at or fostered the disruptive tendencies, so that when they left the country it was already divided. Even the division that thus came about did not separate the two peoples who had carried on a death-struggle for nearly one thousand years, the one, the earlier settlers, the Hindus, to preserve their political dominion and the other, the new-comers, the Islamic people, to wrest it from them. The total result of British rule over India thus proved to be very disastrous to the Hindus. They have neither been able to have a more or less culturally homogeneous part of the country as their political destiny nor have been able to remain the majority group in the whole Indian nation. But they have agreed to a large part of the country being cut off from the whole as a special dominion of the Islamic people and to rest content with being only the majority group in the remaining two thirds.

In this period the cultural process starts afresh and in a slightly different spiral. The new leaven was provided by the English culture which first began to cause fermentation in the Hindu compost. By about 1800 Rājā Rām Mohan Roy was not only exhorting the Indians to change some items of their culture but was also providing them the facilities for getting acquainted with better culture and was thus endeavouring to lay the foundations of a new synthesis of Indian culture. But already in A. D. 1800 the exigencies of administration had led the British to foster in the very city, where Roy was to carry on his new preaching, in Calcutta, the writing of texts in Indian languages useful for their officers. This attempt resulted in "the elaboration of the vernacular (Urdu) as an official speech" and in the creation of another literary language, "High Hindi". Herein was provided linguistic entrenchment for two conflicting communities, the Muslims and the Hindus. The wedge of cleavage was thus driven into the body national earlier than the provision of Roy's cement for unification. And when in 1880 the Indian National Congress was started

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by the combined efforts of some Britishers and many Hindus, and when a few Muslims joined it, the great leader of the latter, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, in whom in the words of Sir Charles Lyall "Urdu prose found its most powerful wielder for the diffusion of modern ideas" and the movement started by whom "has been the spring of the best literature in the language during recent years", sternly warned them against such a course.[21]

To the already developing and developed modern Indian languages which were being written in slightly, but from the viewpoint of the stranger sharply, different scripts was added one more language written in an entirely foreign script. Ironically enough this script is written from right to left. We know that this land under the guidance of its earlier settlers, the Hindus, had very early experimented with a script running from right to left and had given it up in favour of one written from left to right. All the scripts of the other modern Indian languages run from left to right. Prose which till the introduction of English education was almost lacking in the modern Indian languages sprang up into a vigorous growth thus further emphasizing the cultural separateness of the various linguistic groups. However all of them through English, the common language of their elite, came together as one nation, feeling a common unity, accommodating without much stress and strain within it the linguistic–cultural diversity. In spite of the fact that the geographical unit called India at the end of this period happens to be only a portion of the unit with which we began, I shall designate the period as British–Indian in political colour.

In cultural atmosphere, too, this characterization will have to stand, as the new independent unit has declared itself to be a secular State, though properly speaking the actual result, in spirit at least, ushers in the Neo–Hindu era.

For the student of costume a new dress, introduced by the ruling people coming from a cold country, its varied modifications, as well as its recent abandonment, and its influence provide an instructive chapter. For the student of culture the resurgence of Indian dress at the end of the period along with the disavowel of the English language and acceptance of many other items of European culture as well as the differential adjustments of the Hindus and the Muslims in this behalf offer an enchanting field for study. Various ethnographical monographs and the descriptive gazetteers present an unusually clear picture of the costume of the people. To this source .of knowledge may be added not only the writer's own active experience of more than forty years but also the longer stretch of journalistic report.

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3

Upto 320 B.C.

The Vedic peoples have left in their literary remains a number of references to the state of their civilization and culture, which incline one to credit them with a high civilization. It may not have been on a par with the beautiful medium of expression they had developed ; but it does not appear to have been below the stage of poetical skill they had developed and must have been in keeping with the war-like and expansive nature of their life in the early stages of their advance into the heart of India. Though they were very largely a people depending on herds of cattle they carried on agriculture. They mainly settled down in villages, cities being hardly known, though forts and fortresses of themselves or of their foes are referred to. Yet the arts and crafts which were practised included a number of those generally associated with city or town–life. Not only weaving was known but embroidering of cloth with gold or silver thread was a well–known and respectable craft entitling its practitioner to be known after it.

The total ensemble of clothes whether of a male or a female had not yet come to be designated as we find it in later Samskṛt, wherein the term 'nepathya' signified the idea. 'Vasana' meaning cloth did duty for the idea of dress. And use of clothes was intimately associated with man. This invariable association had impressed itself on the minds of Vedic Indians as so very remarkable that they thought some mystical explanation of that fact quite essential. The garment which a male wears is raised to the dignity of his skin, and is said to be presided over by deities. The different parts of the apparel are consecrated to different deities. This belief finds its echo in more recent literature only among the Jains. Moti Chandra informs us that in one of their canonical books it is declared that the different parts of wearing cloth are presided over by different gods and demons. It is very instructive that the middle portion as also the borders of a garment in this ideology are the special preserve of 'Ancestors', which as we shall presently find, was also the Vedic belief.

That a person intent on sacrifice is not complete without his garment stresses the same view of garment. Hence to be properly clad is to be complete. From this

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simple but mystical function of clothing to its æsthetic appeal was only a step in reasoning. The text which gives the above-mentioned mystical explanation also points out that naturally people like to see even an ugly person if he is properly clad. The attraction of good clothing is patent here. The terms used are 'suvasana', 'suvāsas' or 'surabhi', which mean either one who has put on good or fine cloth or one whose garment is becoming or well-fitting. Sometimes the mystics were so taken by the appeal of costume that they even explained the attraction of cows to some people as being due to the charm which the person's attire cast over them.

The frequently mentioned part of costume, whether male or female, was called 'nīvi', which is one of the two specific sartorial terms that continued to be in use in later Samskṛt language. The only meaning, which fits in all the contexts of the word in Vedic literature, makes it out to be the pleated bunch tucked in at the navel as a sort of a knot. And that is also its meaning current in Samskṛt literature. The presiding deity of that part of the attire is declared to be the manes. There is a sacred text which used to be recited at the time of marriage. At a certain stage of the rites the bridegroom had to change his dress and to put on a fresh lower garment which was specially made for him by the bride. The text to be recited contains a prayer that all evil attendant on such an occasion may be obstructed by the pleated portion. The purpose of pleats would appear to be the magical one of protecting the wearer against possible evil by offering an obstacle. In a number of passages the forming of pleats is referred to directly or indirectly. From such references, which clearly have the male in view, it is evident that the lower garment worn by the male for religious functions was properly pleated. At one stage in the rites for the manes the performer is asked to undo the 'nīvi', the pleats. The injunction can signify only one thing; and that is that the pleats originally formed at the beginning of the rites were twice folded and that at this particular stage, the pleats, being sacred to the manes, had to be let down so that they could hang loose.

Another term occurring in the passage, giving the mystical explanation of costume, but which never recurs afterwards is naturally difficult of proper interpretation. It is 'anucchāda'. V. S. Apte in his dictionary has translated it as the pleats dangling in front and thus as equivalent to the Gujarati 'pātali' or the Marathi 'nirī'. Its presiding deity was 'Vāyu' or Wind.

Evidently the front pleats and their special treatment at funeral rites refer to the lower garment worn by males. We may conclude that it was very much like the dhoti' of the present day. Whether a part of it was drawn between the legs behind

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and tucked in at the back, as is done at present in ordinary wear in some regions and at religious functions all over India, we cannot say. It is commonly called the 'vāsas', the cloth, and rarely 'paridhāna', 'wearing'.

Whatever the manner of wearing the lower garment, it appears the mode was common to both males and females. A reference to the proper attire of a student, when approaching his teacher for lessons, occurring in one of the works ascribed to the age towards the end of our period, forbids the wearer to put on his 'dhoti' in such a manner as to clothe the lower part of his body and to wrap the upper part with it by drawing up the portion remaining over after clothing the lower part. The whole of the garment with the help of properly folded pleats had to be accommodated over the lower part of the body.

In a passage in the *Mahābhārata*, which must have been more or less contemporary with the above injunction for males laid down by a writer on sacred law, we are told about the sartorial condition of Draupadi, the wife of the Pāṇḍavas, when she was brought into the gambling hall of the Kauravas. She tells the messenger, who has come to fetch her from the inner apartment, that she is not in a fit condition to appear before elderly males in an assembly. First, she is in her monthly course; second, she has put on, therefore, only one garment; and third, it is worn in the particular mode described in the text as 'adhonīvī'. In the text of the sacred law above referred to, the student is exhorted to be 'adhonivītah' i.e. to wear his lower garment in such a manner that with the help of pleats the whole of the garment is wrapped round the lower part of the body. The same expression, with the substitution of the feminine form, which is appropriate in the context, for the masculine one, occurs in the passage about Draupadi. We may conclude that Draupadi puts forward the excuse that having been dressed in the manner of the male 'dhoti', i. e. having worn her lower garment in such a manner that the whole of it was exhausted in the wrappings round the lower part of her body, the upper part of her body was uncovered. Further she informs the messenger, by implication of course, that being in her monthly period she has not and she cannot put on her upper garment and thus cannot cover her bosom. That ladies used to wrap their lower garment in some special manner so as to provide a double covering for the thighs during their monthly period is attested in a verse current in folk-literature and enshrined in the Prākṛt literary form about the end of the next period. In Hāla's *Saptaśatī* a lady is represented as gently warning her lover not to approach her for sex-gratification, by looking at her thighs, which had a double wrapping of the garment round them, suggesting thereby her physical condition.

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The bunched pleats were tucked in generally at the navel. But there is at least one clear reference in Vedic literature where a lady is described as having worn her tucked in bunch at the right side.

The garment of one Mudgalāni, acting as a charioteer, is described as flapping in the wind. Sarkar has taken it to refer to the loose upper garment worn by ladies. He is definitely of opinion that the lower garment was worn by ladies in such a manner that the whole of it was exhausted by wrapping it round the lower part of the body, no portion being left to be drawn over the upper part. I am not convinced of the correctness of Sarkar's opinion. On the other hand in view of the Vedic reference to the fluttering of a lady's garment, of the later Vedic reference to the possibility of males wearing their single garment to cover the lower as well as the upper part of their body, and further of the more or less contemporary account of Draupadi's special attire in her menses raise a presumption that at least among some of the Vedic peoples ladies used to drape a single garment in such a manner as to cover the whole body. As we shall see in the next chapter, towards the middle of the next period Northwest-inspired sculptures of female figurines are draped in a garment which envelopes the whole body, in addition either to another cut-and-sewn garment for the upper part of the body or to two such garments, one for the legs and the other for the torso. It should also be borne in mind that some early sculptures of Greek and Etruscan ladies portray them with a portion of the lower garment used to cover the upper part of the body in such a manner that as in the case of the later North-Indian 'sāri' a portion of it rests over the head and covers it.

Another separate garment, which was, like the later 'dupaṭṭā', a loose wrap rather than a fitting piece of apparel was called 'upavāsana', and was used as a scarf to cover the upper part of the body. It seems to have been known otherwise as 'adhīvāsa' or 'over-garment' or as 'paryaṇahana' or 'wrapping piece'. It is clear from the *Mahābhārata* that slaves, maid-servants, and even royal ladies during special periods did not and could not use the loose upper garment. The upper wrap thus had come to be looked upon as a mark of gentility.

In addition to this loose upper garment some women would appear to have sported a tailored garment, which was both embroidered with gold thread and close-fitting. It was known as 'drāpi', whose etymology is not known.

Head-dress was not a common item of female attire. Only rarely, as in the case of Indrāṇī the wife of god Indra, is head-dress, known by the same term as that for the voluminous head-wrap of males, referred to. It is called 'uṣṇīṣa'.

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Males too covered the upper parts of their bodies with the help of a loose garment like the one worn by females. But under this loose wrap or 'dupaṭṭā' they sometimes wore a tailored garment, which a number of students consider to have been a long, flowing yet close-fitting cloak-like overcoat. It was called 'atka'. It is described as bright, and beautiful as well as being embroidered with gold thread. It is interesting to note that Megasthenes, the Greek observer of Eastern India about 300 B.C., the end of our period, refers to the inordinate love of contemporary Indians for ornamentation and finery. He observes in the words of Strabo: "In contrast to the general simplicity of their style, they love finery and ornament. Their robes are worked in gold, and ornamented with precious stones, and they wear also flowered garments made of the finest muslin." Even Brahmins, philosophers in the terminology of Strabo, dressed themselves in muslin garments dyed in bright colours.

The third piece of male apparel in the earlier part of the period was formed not by the headgear but by a mantle or over–garment, known, as in the case of the female ensemble, as 'adhīvāsa'. The head–dress known as 'uṣṇīṣa' is earliest mentioned in connection with the eastern people known in early literature as the Vrātyas. It is described as white and bright. It used to have cross-windings and was tied with a tilt. The description closely fits, as will be seen from the sequel, some of the turbans of Sanci and Bharhut. Other Vedic peoples do not seem to have habitually worn the turban. It was considered to be a mark of dignity and authority and was compulsorily to be tied at the performance of the great sacrifices proclaiming one's sovereignty, like the 'Rājasūya'. It was then to be worn in a particular manner, whose rationale is hard to understand but seems to have been a deep–rooted custom; for its prevalence among some people many centuries after the Vedic period is attested. The turban used to have one end lying loose, which at the sacrifice had to be gathered in front and to be tucked away at the navel, where lie the tucked in pleats of the lower garment. Perhaps there were other modes too of tying the turban. Before the end of the period, turban had come to be an invariable item of male attire. Āpastamba asks the student to take off his turban, when he approaches his teacher. Arrian, basing his description of Indian dress on Nearchos's account, informs us not only that the lower garment was of cotton and extended below the knee half–way down to the ankles but also that the upper garment was worn in a manner so as to cover the shoulders as well as the head in its twisted folds. He has thus preserved for us evidence of the prevalence of the mode of using the surplus end of the turban so as to make it fall over the shoulder to the navel in ordinary life centuries after it was followed by Vedic peoples as a ceremonial usage.

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From 320 B. C. to A. D. 320

In the Yaksa statue from Mathura (57), the lower part of the body is swathed in a 'dhoti', which appears to have been without patterned borders. It is broad enough almost to touch the ground at the back of the figure, where over the buttocks it sweeps smoothly as there are no hind pleats to cut into the smooth sweep. At the front very stiff but fairly ample pleats are formed breadthwise out of the portion remaining over after the 'dhoti' was wrapped round the girth once. From the way a pattern is indicated on the top pleat we may conclude that at least one edge of the garment had a breadthwise ornamental fringe. A precise idea of the nature of such fringes may be had from the loose right end of the 'dhoti', hanging from the left arm of the masterful personage in picture 67. More fashionable effect was produced by persons of Westernly and Gandharan origin by forming the breadthwise pleats and tucking them pliantly as seen in picture 90. Though less striking yet as appropriate, are the flexible and dangling pleats of the amorous male in 68. The breadthwise pleats of the roundish dwarf figure of a Yaksa, are simply formed, once turned on themselves and tucked into the girdle-string in a neglige yet elegant manner (74). Another mode of utilizing the surplus portion of the 'dhoti' was identical with that commom among females and much more frequently met with in the sculptures from the central region, those of Sanci for example. It is represented in this region in the vigorous portrait of Balarama (58) and in the later sculptures of a worshipping and of an amorous couple (65, 82). The magnificent statue of a dignified personage preserved in the Lucknow museum (76, 78) wears these pleats less elaborately yet elegantly made. Their disposal agrees fairly closely with that made by the dwarf Yaksa in some respects and in others with that sported by the female flywhisk-bearer of Didarganj. The surplus portion being pleated breadthwise the under pleats are slightly spread out and tucked in at the navel beginning with the point of the left waist. The pleats by such arrangement are exhausted at about the navel. About two feet below, their lower ends are turned up so that a sort of sling is formed about two feet below the navel. The upturned ends are then tucked in at the navel, perhaps a little to its right. Such arrangement of pleats produces a curvilinear sweep

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of the garment over the right leg just below the calf, the surplus portion of the dhoti coming from the right side. It is concealed in this figure by the grander sweep of the majestically worn upper cloth, the 'dupaṭṭa'. The back view presented in picture 77, however, shows up the turned up sweep about the region of the right calf. Some people disposed of the surplus in a less elegant but more workmanlike fashion. Thus the royal figure in 44 watching the archery contest, has taken the surplus portion, which appears to have come from the left side, rolled it and having wrapped the roll once round his loins, has made a simple knot with it and allowed the surplus roll to fall over. This manner of sporting the surplus portion of the 'dhoti' is even now not uncommon among artizans and other labouring classes. It appears that in the extreme North-West wearing the surplus portion of the 'dhoti' on the left side was fairly common. Another sculpture (53) from that side representing the wedding scene of the 'Bodhisatva' portrays the bridegroom as disposing of his surplus 'dhoti' portion, which comes from the left side, by folding it lengthwise and after turning the roll upon itself at the ankles by forming a knot with it at the extreme left of the abdomen. The surplus ends dangle on the leg. This arrangement, giving a large number of pliant vertical folds on one side, befits the occasion of serene joy which wedding rites create. In both pictures the under flap of the 'dhoti', coming over the right leg is drawn back between the legs and tucked in at the back-centre.

The method of making the 'dhoti' a fit wear for work is what is known today as either 'kacchoṭa' or 'kāsoṭā', wherein the lower ends of the front pleats, after their upper ends are tucked in at the navel, are drawn up between the legs behind and tucked in at the back-centre. The archer in picture 49 has treated his 'dhoti' in this manner. And if his 'dhoti' was not a rather narrow garment then he must have turned up its lower ends at both sides of his waist, thus making it almost a kind of shorts. The slim, dark yet dignified figure of Siva, leaning against his bull, presents the classic type of this 'kāsoṭā' arrangement. The full-breadth 'dhoti', when its front folds are drawn in and tucked behind, in the hands of elegant experts presents the appearance of the baggy Baluchi trousers. That effect is conveyed in the picture through the numerous oblique folds carefully shown on both the legs (84).

The Yaksa figure (57) wears the 'dhoti' without the under end of the 'dhoti' being pleated and tucked behind as is usually done. That is, there are no hind pleats. The high personage in picture 67, who is being attended by two torch-bearers, one of whom also carries the sacred conch-shell in his hand, if he can be considered to be in a more or less normal situation, has the under portion of the 'dhoti', coming over

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from the left thigh dangling between his legs. He too has not formed the hind pleats. In other cases we have to infer the existence of hind pleats.

The 'dhoti' is held in position at the waist with the help of a belt either flat or tubular or by a string. The girdle-belt of the phallus deity (94) shows a central clasp-like ornament. The flat belts of Balarama (58) and one Yaksa (57) have been elaborately knotted at the centre and their both ends dangle straight between the legs, reaching the knees. The flat belt of the other Yaksa is appropriately knotted on the right side and its two ends allowed to rest over the right thigh. This disposal has enabled the fashionable wearer to show off to advantage the elegant arrangement of his pleats as well as the rich beauty of his belt (74). The headless figure in the Lucknow museum wears a more ornamental tubular belt with a bow-knot and a fairly long and gracefully falling end (76, 78).

All of them carry a second loose garment variously arranged over the upper parts of their bodies. The Yaksa has folded his 'dupaṭṭā' in a neat manner and tied it up round his chest with ends more or less dangling (57). It befits his rigid formality.

The more common mode of use of this garment is seen in the Taxila sculpture of a Brahmin ascetic in picture 51. The garment is loosely folded. It is then held lengthwise and one end of it is thrown over the left shoulder to the back side. The rest of the folded length is passed from the left shoulder over the chest to the right side where about the region of the last rib it is turned backwards. The portion thus brought at the right back is carried over the back to the left shoulder where the end is thrown over it to the front side. There in front of the left arm-pit the end dangles and matches the other end which has been allowed to hang at its back side. This fundamental mode of arranging the upper garment admitted a number of fashionable variations. Appropriate to the serenity of the occasion the 'Bodhisatva' bridegroom makes a larger curvilinear sweep of the garment over his front and thus allows a full view of his broadish chest. By turning the front end that should have ordinarily dangled in front again over the left shoulder and thence at the back he has gracefully covered his left shoulder and arm (53). The broad-chested firm-fleshed figure in the Lucknow museum wears his more voluminous upper garment with great accession to his majestic dignity. The heavy unbroken sweep at the back (77) not only bespeaks physical solidity but adds to the verticality of the stoutish figure. The pliant and huge rolls of the ends over and under the left wrist match the opulence of the ornaments and increase the

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volume (78). Similarly the dwarf Yaksa using identically a less voluminous garment adds to his dignity and makes for humorous elegance (74). The torch-bearer in picture 67 wears this garment as an additional support for his waist and with its huge bow-tie forms a voluminous ornament for the left leg. This mode of wearing the garment becomes more frequent with high personages further east and south. The arrangement appears to have been a coquettish style sported in this area by bells and further east and south by beaus too. Another mode of wearing the pleated 'dupaṭṭā', which is much more common with females, appears in this area to be connected with certain sections of royalty. The central royal figure in the archery scene (44) illustrates the mode. One end of the garment is cleverly turned over the right forearm and the rest drawn back resting just sideways on the right upper arm. It then sweeps the back below the neck in a straight or curvilinear run and is taken forward over the left upper arm. In the picture, as the personage has his left hand engaged in clutching some banner, the end drawn forward falls straight. In other pictures we shall see it disposed in an identical manner with the right end. Servants and common people might wear the garment spread out and thus swathe the upper parts of their bodies as the attendant to the readers' extreme right in the above picture has done. When intent on some work, the 'dupaṭṭā' is in its normal position a nuisance. A royal personage may then take it off the shoulders and wrap it spread out over the buttocks as in this picture the archer has done. A Brahmanic personage on the other hand while drawing the bow has worn it in place; but by wrapping the surplus round the waist and then knotting the free ends at one side has also provided additional support to the waist and an item of beautification (49.)

It should be noted that Balarama (58), the phallus deity (94), and standing Siva (84) do not wear an upper garment. Nor is it seen on the North-Western representation of Kubera (46).

Readers must have felt a surprise at the rare mention of a head-dress as component of the male costume described by the Greeks. The earliest figure representations belonging to this period however dispel the feeling. They testify to the description of male costume as given by the Greek observers. The Yaksa statues, which are rather colossal in their dimensions, found near Mathura (57) and Patna are bare-headed. It may be that particular dignitaries, like the bearers of fly-whisks whether male or female, had to be without a head-covering. It is possible that males belonging to certain classes alone did not sport a headgear. But it cannot be argued that the works, which reveal so much care in their execution, could have

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been inadvertently left without a head-dress. Nor can it be argued that the original head-dress might have disappeared in the process of wear and tear, natural and human. The state of preservation precludes the last suggestion. The equally colossal figure of the flywhisk-bearer standing on a gateway of the Sanci stupa, which is later at least by a century, wears a special turban. Even the dwarfish Yakṣa from Mathura has provided a cover for his head with the help of his hair (74). That the Brahmana ascetic (51) sitting before his blazing fire only wears matted hair on his head is no wonder. If the masterful person in 67 may be considered to be proceeding for worship we may conclude that in the western region worship was done with bare head.

The lack of turbans over so many heads noticed above should give the reader the idea that the Mathura area and the western region were wanting in a piece of apparel which has been rightly regarded as a stamper of personality. A direct lie to such a notion is given by no less a personage than Balarama (58). His turban, which is freshly folded over the head out of a long piece of muslin-like cloth, can easily pass for a replica of some of the 'sāfā's of contemporary Rajasthan or the 'pheṭā's of Saurastra. Evidently there was then no prejudice against wearing one's turban slanting on one side, as in this picture the turban has covered almost completely the right ear of the wearer. Perhaps Balarama's wine-loving temperament, so clear in the legendary stories, has something to do with such a disposal of the headgear. Anyway such heavy and slantingly placed head-dresses are rare in this region. Another example of it is found perched on the head of the male partner of an amorous couple (82). We shall meet with this heavy head-dress with its protuberance as a common component of the costume of Sanci, Bharhut and other places to the east and the south of the region we are concerned with here. At least one very elaborate variety of it folded with embroidered and patterned cloth is known for this region. It is figured in picture 75. Befitting as it does the very round face, with its arched central elevation it tends to impart some verticality to the otherwise round face. The exiguous head-covering of the archer in picture 49 is precisely the modern 'muṇḍāsā' type. It consists of a thin strip of cloth wound round over the head in a few wrappings. The head-dress of his servants and that of the attendant of the archer in picture 44 is formed by a more ample piece of cloth and effectively covers the head as in the sartorial ensemble of many a contemporary peasant or artizan.

The headgear on the 'Bodhisatva' head from the Yusufzai district is a fine specimen of a preformed turban of the type known as 'mandila'. It carries an

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ornament behind the right ear (38). The more or less similar head-dress of Kubera from the same area has an ornament over the forehead between the eye and the ear (46). In view of the clear affinities of some of these turbans with the head-dresses of Rajasthan, the resemblance of others with the squat turbans of Maharashtra is interesting. The turban on the head, in possession of the late Dr. Coomaraswamy and figured in 66, intrigues one by its apparent identity with the 'pagḍī', turban, worn by Maharashtriyan Brahmanas of Bombay and Poona in contemporary times.

We have definite evidence in the early literature for the prevalence of a head-dress as an item of male attire at least in the eastern region of the country. The innovation, if any, that may have to be credited to foreign influence, is the preformed squat 'pagḍī' or turban. This possibility is suggested first, by the fact that Kubera in picture (46) as well as Bodhisatva (38) wears a variety of such headgear. Secondly, the complete sculpture from Mathura figured in 88, which is generally considered to be the statue of a Kusana king, carries a squat turban with round upper edge on its head. It has all the appearance of the loaf like bulging cap of ancient Persians (26), excepting for the height of the latter. The foreigner who is worshipping a phallus in picture 91 wears, on the other hand, a cap which cannot be said to be becoming. But the same article with a roundish lower rim smugly perching on the head of the trimly bearded person in picture 47 makes altogether a pleasing combination. The same variety of head-dress appearing on the head of a king of a foreign dynasty (83) looks rather ludicrous.

The foreigners show their whole attire to be distinctive and novel in this land. Their pieces of apparel are cut and sewn. They are close-fitting. The lower garment of the people of the land, which, from evidence so far laid before the reader, had been a loose piece of cloth for about two thousand years, is replaced in their ensemble by a preformed and divided garment. The tight trousers seems to fit each leg like drawers or the tights of the European formal dress. It could be slightly loose over the knees and thighs as in the squatting figure (88). For the upper part of the body a close-fitting tunic with complete and tight tapering sleeves served as real clothing. The nearly ornamental adjunct of the 'dupaṭṭā', upper cloth, is replaced by a purely functional garment. When used as an under clothing it reached the knees and even lower and was of the same girth throughout. However it appears to have been a complete garment in itself and was used as such. When used by itself one variety of it, which we shall see was very much like a similar garment used by females, was short enough not to cover the mid-thighs. While it fitted closely the body above

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the navel, below it, it flared with fluted pleats (91). Another variety of it is seen in picture 47. It is long enough to reach almost the knees. Like the previous variety it too flares, but the flaring is less marked and appears to be confined to the two sides. It thus becomes the prototype not only of the close-fitting lapelled garment, which we shall see on the body of Prince Siddharth in the Ajanta scene, painting his departure from home, and partially of the lapelled 'jāmā' to be seen in an early Rajasthani painting but also of the modern 'paheraṇ' or 'paiṛaṇ' and of the contemporary 'Nehru–shirt'. It is not clear whether the squatting monarch (88) has donned only such a garment, all close-fitting, or whether he has used a tight coat-like garment. Nor can we be sure about the precise nature of the upper garment of the headless royal statue seated on a chair (87). But the headless figure of the great Kusana king Kaniska (86) leaves no doubt that at least he has two garments to clothe the upper part of his body. His close-fitting tunic which must have been worn next to the skin shows a few curvilinear folds about the region of the mid-thighs. Over it there is an open-fronted long coat reaching the calves. It is evidently buttoned or fastened at the neck but lower down the whole length its two panels do not meet but keep ajar. It can legitimately be looked upon as the precursor of the modern long coat, provided its traces through the intervening period can be demonstrated. At any rate it must be considered to be the lineal ancestor of the long coat that Bana of the next period describes his patron, king Harsavardhana of Kanoj, to have worn on occasions.

The oldest attested female sculptures hail not from the western region but from the central and eastern regions. The statue of a femalefly whisk-bearer from Didarganj, Patna, is generally considered to be contemporaneous with the Yaksa statues which gave us an idea of the early male costume. The Yaksa female figure from Besnagar near Sanci may be little later than the Patna female. At any rate the costume in which her figure is swathed, as also the coiffure, resembles, at most that of the females sculptured on the 'stupa' of Sanci.

Like the early male attire female costume too was devoid of a head-dress. Costume of females was formed by two loose pieces of cloth as did that of males. One of them covered the lower part of the body and must be designated 'dhoti' as in the case of male dress. It appears to have been a more voluminous garment, at least as donned by the Didarganj female. The 'dhoti' is worn without hind pleats being formed. The mode agrees entirely with the manner of dhoti-wearing of the male Yaksas. Seen from behind this style produces a single sweep over the waist and

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reveals almost the entire contour of the buttocks, being hardly concealed by the few curvilinear transverse folds formed in the material owing to the front tuckings. At the lower extremity the female 'dhoti' sweeps the floor even more than that of the male. This feature is functionally inconvenient though conducive to opulent grace. We have seen that the tucking in of the hind pleats is almost the general rule and the arrangement of the 'dhoti' by the Yaksa is rather an exception. In the case of females we shall find, as we go on, that the tucking in of hind pleats is rather rare in this western region and that even in the central region though more common than it was in the west or in the eastern region it was not universal.

The surplus portion of the 'dhoti' almost universally comes from the right side. There is a great variety, very much greater than that met with in male attire, in the manner of arranging the front pleats. The flywhisk-bearer of Didarganj has pleated the surplus material breadthwise and having tucked in the upper ends in the male fashion has turned the lower half of the bunch over the upper half and having made a tucking with the middle portion has allowed the rest of the bunch, whose end is tied up into a sort of an ornamental cone, to dangle over all. The arrangement befits the opulent grace which other items and their disposal create.

We have seen that the 'dhoti' as a component of the male attire was held in place generally with the help of a flat belt, which provided, both in its material and in its disposal as well a centre of variations in fashion and a mark of personal distinction. In the ensemble of the Didarganj lady such a belt is absent. We shall find that females, either not belonging to foreign stocks or not affecting the foreign attire, very often use this article with tasteful effect. In addition, such females generally wear a girdle-zone with a clasp. It may have a single strand or three, five or seven strands. The flywhisk-bearer has put on a five-stranded zone to hold her 'dhoti' in position by itself. And there are a number of women, either of foreign extraction or such as put on an ensemble visibly influenced by foreign dress, who sport such a girdle-zone. The article was so prized that some of them have worn it with 'sāri' even though the surplus portion rising from the right thigh over the bosom covers it, partially or wholly (42, 89). Another woman, whose costume gives her a very modernist look, realizing its coquettish potentialities, has put on a two-stranded zone over her shirt-like garment (52). Maidservants too would not be left behind their mistresses. One such in picture 48 has bedecked her slender waist with one strand, which, with the skirt tucked up tightly and smoothly from behind, has tended to emphasize the rotundity of her buttocks. The more complex girdle-zone of the

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Didarganj lady adds to the volume of her opulent grace. A comprehensive view of the pictures will convince the reader that the Indian female of our period very widely drew upon the potentialities of this article of attire for fashionable variations. She knew that that was the only item of her sartorial ensemble which the Indian male did not either dare or condescend to copy.

A loose piece of cloth, serving as the upper garment identical with that of the male ensemble but perhaps a little more voluminous, completes the attire of this dainty maid of work. In the arrangement of this garment about her figure she has shown almost the same desire for effect as the majestic male (76-78), whose headless statue stands in the Lucknow museum. On the person of the queen of king Huviska it appears in the same position but with a lower sweep so that a fair part of the buttocks are covered up and at the same time the left arm is partially swathed in folds (39). This piece of apparel is almost a universal item in the female attire. Only occasionally it is dispensed with. So necessary was it considered to be that even foreign women show it not only when their dress does not conform to the 'sāri' type but even sometimes when they have put on a 'sāri', which, covering the upper part of the body as it does, obviates the need of a separate piece for that part (89).

'Dhoti' for the lower part of the body and 'dupaṭṭa' for the upper part, both worn more or less in the same manner as by the male, with (50, 82) or without (39) some head-dress formed one variety of the female attire current in the western region during this period. Whenever there is head-dress it is of the type so common in the central region. In the matter of forming the front pleats, with all the variations, the principal mode conforms to the style most prevalent in the central region. Though we cannot be dogmatic on this point, owing to the nature of our material, yet it seems safe to draw the attention of the reader to the fact that the special patterned borders, which are an invariable concomitant of the Indian 'sāri' to-day, are conspicuous by their absence. The only ornamentation permitting fashionable variations centred in the fringe of one end, which was pleated into the front folds.

The 'dupaṭṭa' or the upper cloth as pointed out above was used for effect. It was capable of fashionable variations. Its sedate and dignified mode of wear, almost all modes being identical with those affected by males, is illustrated for a foreign female from the North-West as well as Mathura (45, 72). Turned into a huge or neat bow, worn coquettishly on the left or the right side, it served the purposes of a vigorous dancer as well as of belles (73, 79). In cases of exiguous lower garment it was used to impart decency to the front as in pictures 69 and 71. The case of the

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standing female with only a small buttocks-cloth and no other garment in picture 70 is rather exceptional. The use of the 'dupaṭṭā' in the image of the Greco-Buddhistic Hariti to act as a second covering horizontally over the lower back (89) must be attributed to the desire of the wearer for the graceful effect of lateral folds in a dress, full of vertical and oblique folds in the front. It is highly reminiscent of the use of shawl by orthodox females till recent days.

We shall see in the sequel that the dress of Maharashtriyan females stands out prominently for its distinction of having hind pleats tucked at the back. This is known as the 'sakaccha' mode of wearing the 'sāri'. The material collected and presented here clearly establishes that in former times this mode of 'sāri'-wear had a very much wider prevalence. It is clearly attested from Mathura as well as Sanci. The terracotta figurine described as a belle, whose back view is reproduced in picture 60, clearly shows the hind pleats associated with the wear of a 'dhoti' short enough not to extend beyond the knees. The bracket figures (61–63) not only show this important feature of their sartorial affinity with Sanci but also the rich head-dress so characteristic of Bharhut Yaksis. It is remarkable how this type of head-covering either remained current or was remembered as honourable till long afterwards in some parts of the Panjab as the picture (55), which is an engraving from Kulu ascribable to about the 18th century, demonstrates. While these females establish the existence of the 'sakaccha' mode of 'sāri'-wear in the Mathura region, others–and they form the larger majority–whether wearing the 'dhoti' or other lower garment, prefer to have a smooth undivided back-view. Thus the female, worshipping the lion-pillar in the company of her husband, whose back we are privileged to view (65), has clearly done without hind pleats. From the scene of Māyādevi's dream hailing from the North–West we may conclude that with other ensembles the females from that region did not sport hind pleats (48). The Greco–Buddhistic image of Hariti (89) establishes this mode for high personages of foreign extraction. On the whole we are on safe ground to conclude that females, who are either of foreign origin or are sartorially influenced by foreigners, go without the hind pleats. This conclusion is the more noteworthy because we find that the manner of wearing single garment so as to clothe the lower part of the body and also the upper part as is done with modern 'sāri' is first attested in foreign associations.

So far I have dealt with only one variety of female attire, which, except for its clearest affinities with Sanci and Bharhut, is only important as a stage in the development of Indian costume, having been long ago superseded. There are at least

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three or four other varieties of female attire attested by the artistic remains of this region, which in combination with one or two features of the variety so far treated, exhaust all the principal modes of female costume current in India excluding Tamilnad.

The ensemble of a close-fitting long tunic with all the appearance of a long-sleeved frock and a squat cap-like head-dress (96) as well as that of a short tunic with fluted skirt in combination with a fairly ample 'dhoti' and a squat rolled head-gear (92) may be put aside as almost purely foreign. The former is put on by a Bactrian female guard in attendance on kings and the latter by wine-cup-bearers of same extraction. But the Bodhisattva's bride in the wedding scene and her companion are shown in a 'dhoti' with ample front pleats and a fairly fit tunic over it as in picture 43. We have to recognize in the ensemble a distinct variety of female attire likely to have influenced the clothing habits of later Hindu females. Similarly in Māyādevi's dream scene (48) her aristocratic companion by her head is shown holding the ample front pleats of her 'dhoti' in her left hand. She wears above it a long-sleeved open-fronted coat and illustrates another variety of female dress. The modernist-looking female from Taxila (52) has obliged us by preserving indubitable evidence of the Bactrian ideas about clothing the upper part of the body having been adopted in a modified form. We see in her ensemble the typical attire of a Panjabi lady. The baggy trousers clothing the lower part of her body is the precise article known as 'salvar' and her tunic the same as 'saluka'. The latter fits the figure firmly. Only the scarf is lacking. But part of the function to be discharged by the scarf, viz. that of covering the head, has been fulfilled by her head-dress.

The statuette of a donatrix (45) from the North–West shows her as wearing two pieces of apparel. I have already drawn the reader's attention to the sedate and dignified manner in which she has donned her 'dupaṭṭā' or the upper garment, which is carefully pleated. The lower part is swathed in what must be considered to be a skirt or 'ghāgrā'. It has fair number of pleats, though inconsiderable as compared with those of the 'ghāgrā' of a modern Rajasthani lady. Yet in its upper part it is transparent enough to reveal the patterned under garment, covering the region upto the mid-thighs. In the terracotta relief of Siva and Parvati, the latter appears dressed in a 'ghāgrā' (97); and the nude coquette from Mathura figured in picture 80, to my mind, illustrates the method of putting on a 'ghāgrā'. She has held in her two hands the two ends of the drawstring of the 'ghāgrā' and is about to draw them in so as to make the two flaps meet in front. In the act she has taken

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the opportunity of publishing her nudity and drawing attention to the elaborate girdle-zone with its beautiful central rosette. The professional milkmaid preserved in the Lucknow museum (95) and the rustic woman in the terra-cotta couple (98) both wear a doubled skirt or 'ghāgrā'. One wrap of it reaches to the calves or the ankles; and over it there is another wrap which reaches above the knees. The garment of the rustic woman in its heavily pleated appearance approximates more to the 'ghāgrā' of modern Rajasthani ladies, while that of the professional milkmaid—and let it be remembered that the females of this profession are known to have a special aptitude for tasteful or coquettish dress—in its close-fitting wrap reminds one of the Egyptian style frock-gown or of the skirt of the early twentieth century European lady. It should also be noted that she wears a close-fitting bodice, almost reminiscent of professional milkmaids, who were to be seen in Bombay City until recently. If the object that sits on her head beneath her milk-pot is something very much like the more rough and coarse 'dupaṭṭā' or the scarf that is thrown over her head by the rustic woman of picture 98, then her dress represents the complete ensemble of one variety of female attire, which, minus the doubled nature of the skirt, we meet with in Rajasthani paintings and among peasant women of Rajasthan and Saurastra of modern days. To the last pattern the terra-cotta figurine from Suratgadh in Bikaner (99) answers even more completely than the professional milkmaid. Her close-fitting bodice with clear indications of profuse ornamentation therein resembles the close-cut and embroidered or in other ways decorated bodices of contemporary ladies of the regions above referred to. Similarly, the manner of wearing the scarf of this terra-cotta figurine is the standard mode of wearing this piece of apparel. It may be called the veil.

The Taxila ladies represented as engaged in adoring Buddha on his enlightenment (50), particularly the one in the foreground on Buddha's left side, present another standard variety of female costume. She has worn what may be called 'lungi' or a piece of cloth simply wrapped once round the lower part of her body. It does not show any pleats in front as there is no surplus material to be turned into such. Over her head she has partly spread out her scarf to form what is later known as 'oḍhṇī', 'veil', using the remaining part of it neatly pleated as 'dupaṭṭā' proper.

The above varieties of female costume may all have been indigenous or the natural developments in our period of such previously prevalent modes. But the one which I have reserved for mention last is certainly one introduced by foreigners,

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perhaps by Bactrian Greeks through themselves, the Parthians, the Kuṣanas and the Sakas. The picture of the goddess, Nanaia, on the coins of these foreigners (85) portrays her not only in a close-fitting long-sleeved bodice or tunic for the upper part of the body and either in trousers or 'lungi' for the lower but also as having her ample scarf spread out and wrapped over the left shoulder, the back and the lower part of the body in front, the ends finally resting on her left forearm. Thus wrapped the ensemble has all the appearance of a 'sāri' costume. As I have posited three pieces of apparel, two of which are employed to give the effect of a 'sāri' costume, the variety of female dress is not 'sāri' variety proper. It may be treated as the precursor of the 'sāri' costume whose essence lies in this that only a single piece of cloth, patterned or otherwise, which is voluminous enough, is employed to envelop the whole body in it. One part falling in vertical folds from the waist covers the lower part of the body and the other going over from the right thigh and ascending the chest fully spread out rests over the left shoulder whence the end is variously treated to give some of the effects of the wearing of the pleated scarf or to add cover to the back and the buttocks. The woman under the tree from Yusufzai (40), the Nagini from Sanghao (41), the images of the Greco-Buddhistic Hariti, whether from the North-West or from Mathura (42, 89), and the Bodhisatva's bride in the wedding scene from the North-West (53) all show this typical arrangement of the 'sāri'. In all these cases, though about the last some doubt may be entertained, the end of the portion utilized to cover the bosom is treated to give the effects of the pleated scarf. The same type of 'sāri' costume is seen on the persons of the high class female worshippers of Jina from Mathura (81). They have perhaps worn that end of their 'sāri' in the standard manner of 'sāri'-wear, allowing it to dangle on the back and serve as an additional covering over the buttocks. It will have been noticed that in two of the above pictures the ladies wear their 'sāri's in such a manner that its spread over the bosom leaves the right breast uncovered. It is a powerful attestation of the continuity of sartorial tradition in the North-West before it was enveloped in Islam that female figurines from Hadda in Afghanistan (37) ascribed to the fourth century A.D. wear their 'sāri's in identical manner.

The further history of the last variety of female costume of this region will be found to be a blank. The few examples of it which are fortunately preserved for us attest its sporadic persistence only in the region south of the Narmada. We shall also see that at about the beginning of the 19th century it was confined to the regions east of Allahabad and south of the Narmada.

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. Though the costume of the central region naturally should be treated next, yet for the sake of brevity of treatment I shall go over into the eastern region leaving out the central one for the present. I have already commented on the bare-headedness of the Patna Yaksa (211, 212). The portly figure is all solidity which is rather emphasized by the attire. The lower part is swathed not in a 'dhoti' but in what may be called a double 'lungi'. We have come across the use of the 'dupaṭṭā' or the upper garment as an additional wrap for the lower part when engaged in active work (44). We shall see in a Sindh statue belonging to the next period identical use of the same garment in combination with close-fitting trousers, breeches or pyjamas (101) In the variety of modern dress identical garments and their identical use are attested from Saurastra. But in all these cases the wrapping of the lower part with the scarf or the 'dupaṭṭā' does not extend below the knees. Its association with active work is thus clearly brought out. In the figure of Patna Yaksa the upper wrap is not formed by the 'dupaṭṭā' but by a separate piece of cloth like the one which is first wrapped round the lower part. It is actually broader than the under wrap; and its low hang at the back adds to the opulent ease of the figure. In the front it is closely drawn in at the two sides of the waist thereby producing those transverse or oblique folds which are so beloved not only of the Indians but also of the Greeks and the Bactrians and to some extent of the Romans. He has donned an intricately worked tubular girdle which he has knotted at the centre fairly simply. His ample upper cloth, 'dupaṭṭā', he has worn sedately in the standard mode. The one departure he has effected is in the matter of the treatment of that end which generally is allowed to fall in front. By giving a fold to the portion that remains over after reaching the left shoulder and turning it upon itself he has brought the end over to the back. There both the ends of a rather long piece of cloth hang straight down to the ground, imparting to the portly figure the much needed verticality. That this effect was intended can be inferred from the manner in which the upper cloth is drawn tight and close at the right waist. This treatment has prevented the cloth from adding to the horizontal dimension at the waist of this portly figure.

As in the western region here, too, sculptures, a little later than the Patna Yaksa, show a head-dress exactly like the one of Mathura and Sanci. The two couples (220, 221), one in erotic pursuit and the other more sedate, from Bodhagaya illustrate it. The heavy turban with a ball-like projection at the front centre is typical of one variety of Sanci turbans. That there were other types of headgear is clear from the cap-like squat turban perching on the boy's head from Kumrahar, Patna (226).

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The fairly narrow 'dhoti' is worn in the typical manner of the Mathura and Sanci figures of about the same time. Nor is the flat belt, knotted rather simply at the centre and utilized to hold the 'dhoti' in position, wanting. The same description fits the costume of the figure of Indra as Santi from Bodhagaya (223). The manner of sporting the 'dupaṭṭā' or the upper garment is rather different. It appears to be the rarer variety of wearing that garment. One male, the gallant, as suits his pursuit, has simply put it about his neck and thrown both its ends at the back. This leaves both his hands entirely disengaged and free for his pranks. The more sedately engaged male has utilized his garment to enhance his elegance, locked as he is with a wife, who, in her total ensemble, appears to have been feminine fashion and grace incarnate. He has put on the 'dupaṭṭā' so that it traverses his chest from right to left, just the opposite of the usual direction and yet has managed to let the ends fall gracefully over the left fore-arm.

The Didarganj flywhisk-bearer, whose front and back views are presented in pictures 213 and 214, forms the first landmark in the eastern region in feminine costume. Let it be observed that she is bare-headed. Whether the absence of head-covering is the consequence of her functional position or whether she has preferred to offset her peaceloving, almost placid, face, by the rich forehead ornament and the more luxuriant hair done into a highly complicated and attractive coiffure, we cannot say. In the matter of her 'dhoti' she has not only scored over her contemporary male of this region but also perhaps on the contemporary females of the Central region. The oblique or transverse folds she has managed to produce in her garment by skilful tuckings are delightfully regular. The front pleats, formed with the surplus portion, are regular, neat and yet sufficiently pliant. The five stranded girdle-zone, with its two combinatory clasps protruding at the two sides of the pleats, is utilized more to emphasize the width of the buttocks than to draw attention to the pleats. Smoothness of the back side is broken by the curvilinear folds of the garment, the strands of the girdle-zone and above all by the covering of the neatly folded scarf which passes over the divide of the buttocks transversely. The intricate disposal of the scarf harmonizes with the complex coiffure. It seems one of the ends of the scarf is tucked into the last two or three strands of the girdle-zone on the left side. The material is then drawn pliantly and not stiffly over the buttocks on to the right elbow, where it is pulled over it with a skilful twist and the whole of the surplus second end is simply allowed to fall in its own weight. Altogether it forms a pleasing ensemble for a placid face and a technical body.

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. As in the western region so here the female sculptures of a little later date show that women used to wear head-dress, not only comparable to that of men but even more elaborate (217, 220, 221, 222, 224). It is noteworthy that the women in pictures 220 and 221 are engaged in rather delicate activity on the domestic plane.

The lower dress of the woman in picture 220 requires no comment, being of the ordinary 'dhoti' or rather 'lungi' type. The terra-cotta figurines reproduced in pictures 217, 218 and 219 are dressed in some kind of skirt, which with its two variations demonstrates its use for fashion. The draping of the lower garment as done by the remaining five women is peculiar and full of interest. The terra-cotta figurine of picture 225 appears to be a special case. Perhaps she represents mendicant womanhood. Her lower garment, from the ample folds it has formed as well as from the manner in which the front pleats are worn, should prove to have been a 'sāri' with its length much greater than that of a 'dhoti'.

The full-breadth lower garment of the two women from Bodhagaya (221, 222) and of the one from Rajasan in Muzaffarpur District (224) in its arrangement and drapery is reminiscent of some of the bracket figures from Mathura and will be met with in a number of female sculptures from Sanci. Interest in this sartorial variety is enhanced by the fact that the 'sāri' is draped in an identical manner by contemporary Sonkoli females of Bombay. The same mode occurs now sporadically among some Indian Christian women of Salsette. The happy-faced woman in 224 has considerably enhanced the effect of her face by the easy grace of her front pleats. The arrangement of the drapery which produces this is not easy to do. The surplus portion of the garment is drawn tightly to the left side. Because of the tuckings and the left pull a number of oblique folds are produced over the right leg. The garment assumes a curvilinear sweep at the lower extremity of the right leg. The end of the surplus portion now drawn to the left thigh is carefully pleated in flutes and their upper bunch neatly tucked in at the abdomen almost vertically with the knee-cap. The lower ends hang lightly and gracefully just above the knee-cap. Thus there is in front a combination of fan-like curvilinearity bounded at its side by a few neatly hanging vertically fluted folds. Altogether the drapery, with neither surplus to give an awkward protuberance anywhere nor a shortage of material to leave some part uncovered, fits the body closely and yet produces the playful oblique folds. The other lady's drapery is an exact replica of this. The difference in attire lies only in the girdle-zone. Whereas that of the lady in picture 224 is two-stranded that of the other one (222) is three-stranded. They appear to have sported their scarf in a

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bunched manner over the left side. The lady in terracotta, who is engaged in placing her ear-ornament at its proper location (215) has draped her lower garment exactly like the above ladies. She has drawn the surplus portion from the left leg over to the right side and worn the pleats bunched and tucked in at the right waist. The pleats are also broader and stiff as if ironed. And that is why she has been able to indulge in the extraordinarily fashionable variation of wearing them flared out a few inches beyond the body on the right side. Her back view (216) makes it quite clear that she has not worn the hind pleats and that the flat bejewelled belt is used more to emphasize the expanse of the buttocks than to soften their contour. The lower garment of the lady, who is rather sweet on her husband, figured in picture 221, must be described as a 'sāri'. Its wearing is in general similar to that of the lower garment of the above ladies. Instead of disposing of the surplus portion in pleasant pleats over the left leg, as the other two ladies could do because their garments were not very long, she has drawn the large surplus portion with heavier yet curved folds just to the left of the navel and turned the whole surplus into a bunched roll and has tucked it in just below the navel, creating a protuberance of barrel-shape, lying horizontally. We shall see later that this feature was a fixture in the feminine attire of Andhradesa, Karnataka and Maharastra till very recently. The people of these regions had named it lovingly, the Andhras calling it mango and the Kannadigas and the Maharashtriyans banana. The alternative Marathi term for that feature, viz. curry-powder-stone, it appears to me, describes it more appropriately and attests its ugliness. Anyway we shall find that the feature has been fast disappearing from the sartorial armoury of contemporary ladies of these regions.

The ladies in pictures 215, 217, and 221 have not worn their scarves. The mendicant lady (225) has wrapped her head and the upper part of the body in one sweep of her ample scarf. The two ladies standing against a pillar (222, 224) have both carried their scarves in a bunch hanging at the side of the left leg. The lady who is trying to get away from her lover (220) carries the usual scarf. How she had sported it we do not know. We only know that however worn it has embroiled her in its tangles and has prevented her from escaping the clutches of her lover. Readers of Samskṛt dramas will remember how sometimes the heroine, who gets annoyed with her husband or lover and desires to move away, is tried to be held back by her lover by catching at her scarf and how she is able to disengage hêrself by divesting herself of it. The situation favours such a development. Here perhaps the entanglement, which is contrary to the expected ease of divestment, is equally obliging.

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For the sartorial account of the males of the Central region I have to begin with a fine male-head from Sarnath which is ascribed to the middle of the 3rd century B. C. Contrary to our experience of the previous regions this head (136) wears a fairly intricate yet familiar turban. It resembles the headgear of present Marwar and also that of the Moghuls in India. The earliest sculptures almost characterize the region. We meet with a veritable riot of head-dresses. Another of them, which like the one just mentioned appears to be a pre-formed variety, rests on the head of the portly figure of flywhisk-bearer standing on the top of one of the gateways of the Sanci stupa (178). It is a loaf-like cap surrounded at its lower end by a thick roll of cloth and resembles one variety of Persian headgear (26) and contemporary Parsi cap. The close-fitting round cap with two streamers at the back in picture 141 is a kind of helmet befitting the profession of the person who wears it. He is either an ordinary soldier or some military officer sculptured in relief on the railing at Bharhut.

The variegated and conical cap with side-streamers of the male dancer in the paintings at Bagh equally suits his professional activity (188). Other persons, whether belonging to the royalty, the nobility or the commonalty, whether sitting at ease at home or in the company of their wives, whether engaged in worship or going in a procession, all wear a more elaborate head-dress, which is quite clearly not a pre-formed variety of it. Fortunately we have one sculpture which shows a male engrossed in the act of giving the final touches to the turban that he has been folding over his head, while his wife sits by his side. In picture 156 we see the broad-chested gentleman who has already folded the major part of the turban-cloth into his head-dress, holding the lap of about five feet of the cloth in his right hand and in the left the object, over which it is to be folded in order to produce the favourite protuberance at the divide of the turban over the forehead, like the one in picture 155. Two or three turns of the rolled cloth over the object and the end tucked in would complete the head-dress. It will be appreciated that this variety of head-dress is nothing but a 'pheṭā' or 'paṭkā' with one side rising high and the other keeping low and thus producing the slanting effect of height. In both the cases the higher folded side rises over the right side of the head, a fashionable variation, very rare in the head-dress of this region as well as of other areas. It is very much more common for this eminence to rise over the left side of the head as in the four pictures of Yaksas and Nagas from Bharhut (137, 138, 139, 140). Though as regards the high side-eminence there were only two varieties of turbans, in regard to the protuberance, central, horizontal, lateral or vertical there were

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many, as will be realized from a view of pictures 172, 173, 175, 176 and 179. More often than not this ample and cocked turban varied in its fashion of covering the ears with its rolls. Sometimes as in pictures 152, 153 and 140 both the ears are completely covered. In many other pictures like 137, 138, 156 they are only partially concealed under the folds of the turban. Rarely, as in the case of the royal personage in picture 179, the turban rests almost above the ear. In view of this speciality as well as of the fact that it is less voluminous than most other turbans in this group and because both its sides on the right and left of the central vertical protuberance are equal in height, this turban must be considered to be a variety by itself. Most of the turbans with grotesque projections and protuberances figured in pictures 172, 173, 175, 176, have the portions of the turban on the two sides of the central divide more or less of equal height.

The lower garment, except in two cases which will be described later, is formed by the rather narrow 'dhoti'. It never extends below the calf and very often only just below the knees. At the waist where it is uniformly held in position just below or very much below the navel it is secured by means of a band or flat belt. There is a good deal of scope for personal predilection in the matter of its material, make and ornamentation but hardly any as regards the nature and position of the central knot. The flywhisk-bearer (177) and the royal personage (179) both from Sanci seem to have worn one end of their belt rather long so that we can observe its elephantine trunk-like lie below the front pleats of the 'dhoti,' extending lower down. The belt of the Yaksa in 138 is embroidered while that of the one in 137 is stranded and has tasselled ends.

The surplus portion of the 'dhoti' invariably comes from the right side, with the possible exception in the case of Yakṣa Maṇibhadra from Pawaya (184, 185). Only with few exceptions, the portion is treated lengthwise. It is neatly formed into multifarious pleats which are tucked in at the navel rather spread out more to the left than to the right and made to gather towards their lower end. The lower end, which is hardly two to three inches broad, rests or just hangs about and between the soles of the feet (137, 138, 139, 140, 151, 152, 153, 155, 156). As such an arrangement must have encouraged slow movement and hindered quick activity, it is surprising that the soldier or the military officer of Bharhut in picture 141 should be found wearing the same. The point of distinction in such an arrangement centred in the manipulation of the fringe and comes out prominently in pictures 137, 138, 139, 140 and 141. A more fashionable mode sported by royal personages and some

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dignitaries was to wear the surplus-end in a neglige manner after having wrapped some part of the rolled length round the waist and making a looped knot. The royal personage from Sanci (179), the flywhisk-bearer from the same place (177) and Yakṣa Maṇibhadra from Pawaya (184) illustrate three slightly differing varieties of such an arrangement. In its most neglige type it is to be seen sported by royal personages in picture 172. Śiva from Kosam in Allahabad district (196) has worn his front pleats made neatly out of the surplus lengthwise. The more standard method of utilizing the surplus portion of the 'dhoti' by pleating it breadthwise and tucking one end of the bunch at the navel, the other being allowed to dangle between the legs, is illustrated by persons in the foreground in picture 173. The Yakṣa from Kosam (181) appears to wear the 'lungi' i.e. a mere piece of cloth wrapped round the loins and held in position by a belt.

Some free standing sculptures and a number of sculptured scenes, in which men have their backs turned towards the observers, enable us to form a correct opinion about the arrangement of the 'dhoti' at the back. There are fifteen worshippers in picture 154 whose backs we observe. All of them wear neatly pleated and smugly tucked in hind pleats. The end of the 'dhoti' out of which they are formed is drawn between the legs at the back very tightly so that the pleated flat portion comes just from under the divide of the buttocks. At least one of them has drawn it less tightly so that his hind pleats approximate more to the contemporary manner of forming the hind pleats prevalent among upper classes. It is also to be noticed that the pleats, which are neither very broad nor very narrow, are formed in such a manner that there is no loose end of the 'dhoti' left to flutter behind. The worshippers in picture 174 have rather broad hind pleats. The rather rolled pleats of the flywhisk-bearer (178), too, are not drawn up very closely and hang about the region of the knees. Very similar are the hind pleats of the dignified personage whose back is turned towards us in picture 175. Yakṣa Maṇibhadra of Pawaya (185) is an enigma to me. What appears in the picture as his hind pleats ending in a fork cannot in reality be that feature. His 'dhoti' is so narrow that it hardly extends to his calves. It could not have enabled him to form hind pleats out of it long enough almost to roll on the ground; nor could they have been made to end in a fork. That the drapery of the 'dhoti' of Śiva from Kosam (196) is without hind pleats can be inferred from the manner in which the inner flap of the 'dhoti' coming from the left dangles at the feet in front, a feature we shall meet with in some draperies of the next period.

The dancer of Bagh (189) wears tights or drawers.

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The upper garment is the usual 'dupaṭṭā' or scarf. Almost all the possible variations of wearing that garment are exploited for distinction. Some persons at least sought distinction through material and others like the Yakṣas of Bharhut (140, 138) through the forked arrangement of the dangling ends. It appears that the standard mode of putting on the scarf was to pleat it flat lengthwise throwing one end of it over the left shoulder to the back side. The remaining length was drawn over the chest to the right side where little below the waist it was turned back and drawn across the back diagonally to the left shoulder and the end thrown over it to the front side. In this arrangement both the ends dangle at the left side, one in front and the other at the back (137, 172). The disposal could be varied to approximate very closely to, nay to be identical with, the mode of wear we met with on the persons of Bodhisatva and others in the western region. In its sweep over the chest the garment is more or less spread out. By once turning the end, that would have dangled in front, upon itself at the left shoulder it is made to hang behind the left arm along with the first end (151, 152, 153). The latter mode is rather an inconvenient variation for work-people and yet we find in picture 151 that they have worn it. That is surely fashion. More workman-like disposal of the scarf is presented by two persons—2nd and 4th from the observer's left—in picture 174. They have taken the pleated garment at their back about the waist, pulled the two ends at the two sides to the front, turned them up each in a line with the respective shoulder and put the ends over them to the back side. There the ends dangle over beyond the transverse wrap of the scarf. In this arrangement there is neither loose end to hinder the free use of hands, nor any loose throwing to be careful about lest it should be dislodged from its precarious perch. A fashionable variety of wearing the upper garment even more inimical to free activity is represented in pictures 155 and 178. The stately gentleman with even a more stately wife (155) wears one end of his scarf over the right shoulder behind it. From under the right arm-pit he has drawn the remaining portion horizontally over the back to his left side where at about the lower end of the chest he has drawn the end to the front and having passed it over the left forearm has let it fall to hang under its own weight. The two personages in the foreground in the other picture (176) have varied the arrangement by wearing the front end over the right forearm and the back end over the left shoulder. This mode not only creates an idea of opulence of the wearer but keeping one hand rather unfree supports that idea by suggesting that the wearer's hands are not much used like the common man's. Naturally a mode in which both hands are rendered unfree will accord with greater opulence and dignity. Anyway the contented and majestically standing individual in picture 140, who is a Naga king, wears his scarf so as to

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let fall the two forked ends over the two fore-arms, the main body of the garment lying transversely behind at about the waist from one side to the other. The sweep at the back and its lie as seen in picture 175 will bring home to the reader the accession to the sense of dignity and majesty this mode of wearing the garment could bring to the wearer. We are already familiar with the coquettish manner of draping this garment by giving a huge looped knot at the left side after wrapping the loins once with it. This mode can enhance dignity and serenity if the knot is sedate and is made nearer the front centre of the body rather than at the sides. This is clearly demonstrated by the drapery of this garment round the loins by the two worshippers in picture 176 who are third and fourth from the observer's left and by the royal personage of Sanci (179). The Yakṣa in picture 138 has put on his 'dupaṭṭā' in the simplest manner, which because of its very simplicity perhaps was very rare. A certain portion of its pleated length is disposed round the neck so that it forms a sort of a rather long necklace, its loop lying below the region of the ribs. The rest in the shape of the two ends is thrown at the back, over the shoulders. The manner of wearing the scarf, adding leisurely, grace and suggesting opulent ease, favoured further west, is here represented in Siva's picture from Kosam (196).

The soldier of Bharhut (141) wears a full-sleeved coat with two strap-buttonings, one at the neck and the other just below lower abdomen. It seems to be fairly fitting the body.

The dancer of Bagh and the personage that is sitting in picture 188 wear a long fitting tunic of stamped or printed cloth. Its long sleeves taper to fit. At least two horsemen in another picture from Bagh (189) wear similar garment in pure white material. Its neck is round and close-fitting. It is fit to be considered the prototype of the 'Nehru shirt' of today.

The Yakṣī from Besnagar, presented in three aspects (133, 134, 135), in contrast with the Didarganj flywhisk-bearer, has a non-technical body with a rather heavily built face. And she has done well to turn her ample hair into two finely twined braids falling gracefully to the upper strand of the heavy girdle-zone which covers the whole expanse of her buttocks. She wears a skull-cap-like round headdress. It covers her ears without concealing her standard ear-ornament, and cannot be said to offset the round and heavy aspect of her face. Probably she desired herself to be looked at from behind. Some kind of squat head-covering, sometimes protruding over the forehead even more than is the case with this lady, appears to

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have been almost universal in this region (143, 144, 145, 146, 159, 161, 164, 167, 168). It consists of a piece or pieces of cloth, either simple or embroidered, which is intertwined with the hair so that the head is very largely covered by cloth itself. This braided cloth and another, which is more like a pouch at its lower end, both hang one over the other at the back, the end falling as a gentle cone over or about the girdle (143, 144, 145, 146, 162, 167, 168, 169). The dress in its front and back views resembles the veil which is intended to cover the head and the back. Quite often this is further beautified in front. Besides the chain-like braid which forms a sort of a patterned border to the head-cloth, there is some additional braid or something with a fan-like ornament at the top. It is sometimes worn so as to adjust the fan-like ornament over the head at a right angle at the left extremity (166, 171) or over the right ear (171). Sometimes with the addition of a band, fastened just above the eyebrows, either an intricate bow held laterally (161) or a wing-like ornament (168) is worn to give chic effect to the whole headgear. The raised head-dress so favourite with the males is not commonly sported by women. We see Māyādevi, the queen, even sleeping with such a head-dress on in picture 160. The two ladies engaged in a religious procession to the observer's right in picture 158 wear head-dress which is an exact replica of the male headgear we have noticed. The small turban on the head of the woman in picture 170 is quite evidently special; and its similarity to male head-dress need not detain us. The high and elaborate headgear of the woman from Sarnath in picture 183, though a solitary example of its kind, excites curiosity as it occurs further south in the Deccan (248, 250). Another head-covering, which is absolutely a class by itself, perches on the head of the figure of Parvati from Kosam, in Allahabad district (196). It is thoroughly bizarre, appearing very much like some canework with two tasselled knobs of some textile material.

Of course some women did go without covering their head, and exploited the possibilities of attraction through coiffure. The women on both sides of the lion pillar from a gateway of Bharhut stupa (148) are bare-headed. The woman with her back to the observer has done her hair in almost the same manner as that of the flywhisk-bearer of Didarganj. The dryad from Sanci figured in picture 163 is manifestly ultra-modernist in her coiffure, which is arranged as a fan of hair cut almost half-way.

The lower body of the Besnagar Yakṣa female (133, 134, 135) is swathed in a 'dhoti' in the style that we have found to be fairly common so far. One peculiarity

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is that the front pleats are pulled down at the abdomen rather very low, exposing to view much larger portion of the lower abdomen than has been the case with other draperies of the 'dhoti'. It must have been arranged on a waist-string as a hanger. At the back the 'dhoti' runs high and fairly horizontally so that the girdle-zone, which flatly covers the whole expanse of the buttocks, lies entirely on the wrap of the 'dhoti' round the loins. Though the lady's abdomen is not protuberant her manner of 'dhoti'-wear is as much characteristic of pot-bellied persons as that of Yakṣa Maṇibhadra of Pawaya (184). The pleats and the garment are further held in position with the help of two articles, both of which afford scope for fashionable variation and appear to be more distinguished in this region than in the previous two.

The girdle-zone has strands varying in number from one to seven (171, 147). The many-stranded ones afford scope for different designs of beads or other stuff, making up each strand (134, 147). Some ladies not being fully content with even heavy strings of the many-stranded zones have worn additional chains so as to dispose them over the region in all manner of curvilinearity. The Yakṣi in picture 143 seems to have only one such additional set while the one in 146 has no less than three. The line illustration in picture 147 actually indicates only two of them as B and C. But a third is clearly visible from just below the belt shown as A in the illustration at the left of the figure and runs so in two strands upto about its centre. Under a good magnifying glass the clutch of this two-stranded girdle can be observed to lie a little to the left side of the pleats. The girdled waist of a woman from Pawaya (186) wears only a three-stranded zone whose double animal-headed, 'makara'-headed, clasp peeps out of the beautiful and flared bunch of pleats very artfully tucked in.

The flat belt many a time happens to be much longer than the one in use by the males. The Yakṣi of Besnagar (135) has donned a longish belt so as to provide for additional frontal ornamentation. Her front pleats she has added to and strengthened by allowing a long arm of her belt, after forming the knot, to fall over them to the ground. The amorously treated lady in picture 150, finding her belt rather too long for convenient movement, has held the long arm in her right hand. The belts of ladies in pictures 144 and 149, though not as long, are longer than usual. How highly embroidered or otherwise ornamented the belt could be, can be appreciated through the line-drawing of the belt in picture 147, where it is indicated as A. It forms part of the ensemble of the Yakṣi of picture 146. The belt is generally knotted in the centre at the front; and its two unequal but doubled arms

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are allowed to dangle over the front pleats. Rarely, as for example in the case of the lady from Sanci and the chiding lady from Bharhut in pictures 161 and 148 respectively, the knot and the loose arms are worn on the left side.

The front pleats are formed from the surplus portion coming over from the right leg and are tucked in at the navel slightly spread out and drawn rather to the left side by the Yakṣi of Besnagar (135) and almost all the women who wear the 'dhoti' and whose front side is visible. Those of the Besnagar Yakṣi appear to hang rather easy while in many other cases (142, 143, I45, 146, 149, 150) they stand rather rigid and stiff, with the frill-design very schematically and conventionally emphasized. The Yakṣi of Bharhut in picture 144, whose whole attire and ensemble appear to be designed to produce grotesqueness, has worn over them a prefabricated strip of beaded strings, ten of them, held firm by rigid clasps.

The mode of draping the surplus in such a manner that there is only a fan–like sweep of the garment with a few oblique folds therein, more or less like that noticed before, is illustrated in the attire of Māyādevi (160) in a Bharhut sculpture. The smiling woman with a squat face, sculptured on the Western gateway of Sanci stupa (161), has draped her 'dhoti' in this manner but evidently the oblique folds are not indicated. We therefore get a naked view. The surplus seems in this case to have been drawn from the left side and after stretching it to the right side and forming a few pleats with the end it is tucked in at that waist. The worshipper in picture 169, also from Sanci, has drawn the surplus in the more usual manner from the right to the left side and tucked away the surplus there to dangle at the left leg behind it. Here the artist has understood the drapery better and has rendered it more or less faithfully; and if the total effect is not as graceful as that produced by the ultra-fashionable lady from Sarnath (182), the fault is not entirely his. According to my usage the garment worn by this lady must be called 'sāri' because it is evidently a much longer garment.

The three ladies from Sanci, who are prominent in picture 167, have draped the surplus portion round their waists, creating the typical ridge-like thickened roll which we came across in the drapery of some ladies from the Eastern region (221). This ridge is very obtrusive in the terra-cotta figurine from Bhita, near Allahabad (180). The lady from Sarnath (182), in keeping with the reputation of the place in the world of art and culture, has draped her lower body in a fine piece of cloth. It has enabled her to form very elegant vertically lying folds, though drawn up little

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to the left of the centre. She has allowed the central portion to go undecorated and has concentrated her attention on the upper part. The lower part with its naturally enticing contours, which are shown to advantage by the fine cloth, has its appeal enhanced by the waist being constricted with an embroidered belt. Over the head, too, perhaps she had worn some decorative dress.

A broader lower garment approaching the standard breadth of 'sāri' was not absolutely unknown. The lady with her back to the observer in picture 148 has draped a lower garment which extends to her anklets, which, being rather many-ringed, rise much above the ankles. Parvati from Kosam (198) is draped in such a lower garment with neatly formed pleats tucked in at the navel and a small bunch turned out over the zone.

Another variety of lady's lower garment is the small skirt, known as 'ghāgri', a diminutive of 'ghāgrā'. Not only the female ascetic (170) but even worldly ladies, from rich as well as servant classes (168, 171), have put them on. Some of the women, presenting very smooth and plain front with no pleats and without many oblique folds, may have worn what I have called the 'lungi', i.e. a piece of cloth simply wrapped once round the loins and held by its own tuckings with the help of the usual paraphernalia. The ladies, whether engaged in dance or otherwise, painted in the scenes of Bagh caves (187, 188), wear mostly such 'lungi's. What is interesting is that the majority of these garments bear horizontal stripes for ornamentation. We shall meet with this feature in the attire of the sedate, fashionable, and even labouring women of Ajanta in caves ascribed to the next period.

There are a number of sculptures in which women's backs are turned towards the observer. Quite often they reveal neatly formed hind pleats pertly tucked into the top edge of the wrap behind. In most cases the pleats are carried over the girdle-zone to be tucked and even perhaps over the flat belt. The pleats as they emerge at the back do so about the region of the mid-thigh or a little above the knee-bend (162, 163, 167). The agitatedly departing lady in some domestic scene presented in picture 157 from Bharhut wears them even a little lower, having turned them back at about the calf, where lies the lower edge of her garment. They are rather dishevelled in the case of the wondering woman in picture 168 and broader at the tucked-in end in the attire of the central lady in picture 167. Otherwise they are very neatly compact and keep more or less uniform breadth throughout their length (148, 157, 162). The smiling round-faced woman of Sanci (161) is quite chic

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in her attire. Even the scarcity of ornaments on her person proclaims her desire to be looked at from behind, where she has managed, with the complete exposure, to view of her girdle-zone and with the help of the flat belt above it, to emphasize the expanse of her buttocks without obliterating the rotundity of their contour. Having further created the impression of breadth through the tuckings and knots at the two sides she has taken care to conceal the natural divide of the buttocks. With the help of the neat and smooth pleats going much further down, she has managed to give a fair idea of the fleshy contour of the entire upper leg. The rather stoutish lady with the turned-in braid, figuring in picture 148, has given fictitious but much needed height to her figure with the help of the hind pleats, which she has managed to turn back at the exact point of the lower edge. And yet the whole bunch is pertly compact. It has not shown the slightest disorder of its component folds even though in her pose it has assumed a slightly wavy form. Therein she has achieved a marvel. It is well known to Maharashtrian ladies, who were par excellence addicted to the use of hind pleats, that to form them of uniform breadth and so to press them together as to prevent their disorder in motion, was an extraordinarily difficult task, requiring supreme skill for its performance. So much so was this feeling rooted that when a lady put on such firm, uniform and pert hind pleats it used to be suggested that she had used pins to hold the internal component folds together. Hot-ironing could not be predicated as the operation, having to be performed after the pleats were tucked in to achieve the end, would have been very unpleasant to the wearer, apart from the need of a helper for it. The Besnagara Yakṣi (134) has worn her 'dhoti' without the hind pleats. The tuckings behind of the front lower edges on the two sides of the hind pleats sported by the wondering lady in picture 168 may be carefully noted as similar attire will confront us in the paintings of Ajanta.

The third piece of feminine attire, as we have found in the two previous regions, was the scarf or the 'dupaṭṭā'. In the region under survey it appears to have been much less insisted upon than in the other regions. The ladies in pictures 142, 145, 146, 149, 150, 153, 161, 167, 168 and 171 have accomplished their attire without wearing the scarf. The Bharhut Yakṣi in picture 143 shows her scarf on her chest and abdomen going from the left shoulder to the right hip and must be presumed to have draped it in the standard manner of males. Another Yakṣi (144) and a lady in a domestic scene (157) wear it in the more fashionable mode, one end falling over the right arm and the other over the left forearm, being drawn over the lower back horizontally. The agitated lady in picture 157 has had no time to arrange her scarf and is carrying it in a manner which indicates that she, too, perhaps, under more

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leisurely circumstances, would have draped it as the previous lady has done. In picture 148 the lady facing the observer has put her pleated scarf over the back side of her neck and allowed the two arms to hang in front without any manipulation. A fashionable dryad of Sanci (165) has tied her ample scarf in the manner we came across in the Western region. The huge knot and the surplus portion of the garment are visible on her left side. The lady in picture 148 who has draped a broad 'sāri' has also pleated her scarf and wound it round her waist thrice, and with the remainder formed a knot at the right front, some part of which is visible. The Yakṣi of Besnagara has, by her novel mode of wearing her scarf (133, 134, 135), created an ornamental figure over the upper part of her body. She has put the pleated garment round her neck, just below and slightly projecting out side her thick necklace, and turned both the ends at the back, one over each shoulder. At the back, I believe, she has crossed them just above the crack. The end coming from over the right shoulder partially goes over the left hip and is drawn in front over the girdle. Just above the navel it seems to have been tucked into a string or something. Similarly the end coming over from the left shoulder is drawn on the other side and its ends tucked by the side of the first end. The Parvati figure from Kosam (196) has the scarf arranged in the manner more common further west. It is suggestive of riches and ease and must make for rather slow movement. The sorrowing lady in picture 187, whose beautiful hands and fingers and tastefully modernist bangles and coiffure, enhance the observer's sympathy for her, has donned her scarf fully spread out and has completely covered the upper part of her body. She has pressed one corner of it into service as a sponge to wipe her tears, a situation which is as familiar as it is natural.

We noticed the use of cut and tailored upper garment by females of Western region, who were foreigners, and others influenced by them. Naturally enough we did not come across such garments in the wardrobe of the women of Eastern region. But in this Central region, which we know to have contacted the Western foreigners earlier than Eastern region, there are some very interesting specimens of such garments, harmonizing with the simple tailored garment used by males. The female ascetic (170) wears a tunic which extends a little below the loins. It has only one half-sleeve for the left arm. The right side, being cut away, exposes the right breast, a feature which we noticed as associated with the 'sāri'-draping of some foreign ladies in the Western region (41, 42, 37). Some ladies in the Bagh paintings (188) have worn long closely fitting tunics, with sleeves much shorter than those of the garment of the female ascetic. The cut at the neck is more or less 'V'-shaped. The

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tunic of one lady, the second on the observer's extreme left, is cut away at the back from below the ribs. Those of others appear to have been full.

The Deccan furnishes only a few specimens of art dating from this period; but they are very significant both for their positive as well as negative contribution to our sartorial knowledge. The sculptures in the 'Caitya'-cave at Karle near Poona are the earliest pieces yielding definite information. In picture 246 are reproduced two couples, who are believed to have been the donors of the cave. It is remarkable that such sedate and high-class couples could allow themselves to be immortalized in positions which have throughout been regarded as amorous. What is still more noteworthy is that they were evidently conscious that they were posing for their contemporaries and posterity. These delightfully fleshy couples, it must be admitted, though posing in amorous positions had not abandoned certain dignity and serenity. Another couple, also posing in an amorous situation in another part of the cave, is reproduced in picture 247. Perhaps the couple being less fleshy is more elegant. And its elegance is heightened by the triumphant nonchalance of the male which is counterbalanced by the coy protest of the female partner. Two couples in ordinary situation from Kuda are presented in picture 248. There are four couples in picture 249. They are from Kanheri near Bombay. Though their positions are amorous they are in no way lax. It is to be observed as a speciality of this region that, though as we shall presently find their sartorial affinities are with Sanci and Bharhut and to some extent Mathura and though they are more or less contemporary with Sanci, none of the females has been depicted with her sex-organ nakedly visible as in many pictures from the other places.

The voluminous head-dress of the male with its vertical protuberances of varying distinction is identical with that of the other places. It covers the ears; yet it is generally not worn slanting on one side. Both the sides about the central divide are more or less of equal height (246, 247, 248). The turban of a Naga-chief from Ajanta (253) is of the same variety, only distinguished from the others by its cobra-hood behind the protuberance. The four-cornered high cap of Indra (252) in the Ajanta paintings is noteworthy. As we shall see later, high cap was the usual head-dress of Vijayanagar kings and has survived in the attire of high-caste males of Goa and of the Sonkolis of Bombay with some modification. Three of the males in picture 249 wear the usual Sanci or the special Mathura type of turban and may be ignored. The first male to the left of the observer and the two in the right-hand panel, have donned such a head-dress. The turban of the fourth male of the group presented in

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greater detail in the male to the right of the observer of picture 250, is surely a pre-fabricated piece of attire. What is more interesting is its similarity with the pre-formed turban of Poona. It is squat and has a rim at the lower end. On the two sides above the ears it bears ornamental pieces, that on the left being a simple rosette. The lateral cum vertical protuberance over the right ear has all the appearance of having been the precursor and prototype of the beak-like protuberance, called in Marathi 'Kokā' of the Poona turban. Similar variety appears in the head-dress of women. The head-covering of women from Ajanta (251), with its edge having a patterned border, effectively frames the gentle faces, whose simplicity is enhanced by the huge mark on the forehead made with red lead. The same variety of covering sits neatly on the heads of the Karle ladies in picture 246 and does not mar the beauty of an oval face. In all the cases, as with the women of Mathura, Bharhut and Sanci, who have worn such head-dress, part of it falls over and covers a large part of the back. The Central region afforded us the privilege of a view of the male-turban in the process of being folded, this region provides us with the picture of a lady, who is adjusting her head-covering, which evidently had got dishevelled owing to the amorous impetuosity of her beloved (247). The huge arched head-dress of the lady to the observer's right in picture 248 and that of the lady in picture 250 are organically the same. The difference mainly lies in the arched appendage at the back. In both cases it would appear to be a pre-fabricated piece of apparel and is similar to that of the lady from Sarnath (183), whose head only we have been privileged to recover. Most bizarre, and hence fashionable, head-dress, one which can beat most of the bizarre and chic hats of modern Western woman, is put on by the lady who stands second from the left side of the observer in picture 248. It is some kind of high cap, shaped as a truncated cone. It has a fantastic-looking appendage at the left side of the wearer. It is worn tilted down to the left side.

There appear to have been two styles of clothing the lower part of the body both among males and females. The first variety is the simple draping of a 'dhoti', which more often than not was much wider than the same garment further north. Perhaps the surplus portion of the 'dhoti' was taken from the right side. The front pleats are formed breadthwise and simply tucked in. There is a tendency also to arrange them so as to utilize the fringe ornamentally. Thus the first male in picture 248 has managed to have a fork in the ends of the pleats with the help apparently of the fringe. The central male of picture 254 has gone even further and has utilized the whole length of the fringe to produce a zigzag effect, essentially of the same type as seen more concretely in the trunkless legs in the sitting posture from the Western

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region (90). In its exiguousness, and hence in general appearance, this arrangement tends to approximate the one which we shall see coming to the fore in the next period. The 'dhoti' worn by the Naga chief is rather narrow and ends well above the knees. Indra in picture 252 is evidently clad in a 'lungi', i.e. a piece of cloth simply wrapped round the loins without any pleats. Excepting in the cases of the Naga chief and Indra, whose lower garment is secured in its place with the help of a string, all the other males (246, 247, 248, 249 and 254) wear the flat belt. It is meticulously knotted in the centre over the bunch of pleats (246), which is sometimes so neatly done that it leaves hardly any surplus to dangle about as its arms (254). Rarely, as that of the male in the left-hand panel in picture 246, the dangling arm is long enough to enable its wearer to lift it up for stylistic effect. The belt of the monchalant amorous male (247) seems to have a flat clasp, while that of the male to the left in picture 248 is clasped as well as highly decorated. The male in the right-hand panel of the same has managed to procure ornamental effect with the help of an elaborate and intricate knot.

The ladies, too, show two varieties of lower clothing. The 'dhoti', which is rather narrow than broad, is draped in the same manner as that of the males (246, 247, 248, 250). While tucking in the bunch of front pleats at the navel, almost all of them (246, 248, 249) have taken care to keep an ornamental bunch of them turned out over themselves and the girdle-zone and to dangle over the region of the sex-organ with a fan-shaped ending. This ornamental feature in the bunching of front pleats has already been noticed in the Mathura region. In the Central region the example we came across suggested that it was more intended to direct attention to the sex-region than to draw it away. The two ladies in picture 254 are swathed in a 'lungi', which is broad enough to extend below the calves. Its two vertical edges meet at the left side, where their fastening together creates a vertically lying ornamental zigzag pleat out of the two fringes. They wear the girdle-zone over the lower garment. The girdle-zone is often many-stranded (246, 247, 249). The ladies in picture 248 have donned a single chain of bosses and rosettes, a remarkable variation.

The fact that both males and females wear their lower garment well below the navel at about the lower end of the abdomen, thus exposing the whole abdominal region to view, demonstrates the ubiquity of the fashion. It was a common trait of culture to expose that part. The Samskṛt poets, who flourished mostly in the next period, in their frequent references to the beauty feature of the depth of the navel must be considered to have been more reminiscent than realistic.

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All the males, excepting Indra (252) and a divine personage (254), carry their 'dupaṭṭā' or the upper garment. All of them except the Naga chief (253) have swathed it round their buttocks and thighs in a highly fashionable and clearly distinctive manner. Twisting the main wrap they have worn the remainder in a huge loop-knot at the left thigh, allowing the ends to fall in all manner of grace, harmonizing with the lie of the front pleats of the 'dhoti'. Two of them (246, 248) have used it as a rest for their palm in their effort at grand posing. The Naga chief, in his intricate and curious twisting of the scarf round the body, the arm, and the thigh, has only sought to match the effect of his serpent symbol over his head and to indicate the serpentine origin of his race.

It is in marked contrast with this that females of this region fall into two clear divisions. Four ladies in pictures 246, 247 and 248, though evidently belonging to high society and thoroughly inclined towards effective use of attire for grace and elegance, do not carry a scarf. The fifth lady, the one in the right-hand panel in picture 146, seems to wear her scarf in some manner not quite clear to me. But one end of it is plainly visible, held effectively in her right hand. The ladies in picture 249 have each of them put on the scarf round the loins in the fashion of their beloveds and also worn a huge loop-knot at the side. The two ladies in picture 254 have draped their scarf in the sedate and dignified manner met with in other regions in the attire of both males and females. None of the females excepting the wife of Indra (252) cover the upper parts of their bodies. We must conclude that ladies generally did not cover their bodies above the waist. Śaci, the wife of Indra (252), is screened by her husband and cannot reveal to us all the intricacies of her upper garment. From what we can see, it appears to be identical with that of the female ascetic of the Central region (170). Though it is cut away on the right side, exposing it fully, its left sleeve is much longer than in the other case.

The few specimens of Southern costume that can be salvaged from the derelict sculptures from what must have been the most magnificent work of Indian art of the period, the stupa at Jaggayyapeta on the Kṛṣṇā, are extremely tantalizing. The tall and broad-chested king of dignified and proud mien in picture 285 wears a headdress, which with all its similarity with such pieces of apparel from other regions and from this region too, is sufficiently distinctive to mark out the high rank of its wearer. In addition to the usual protuberances and such other paraphernalia of dignity and fashion there is in the very fore-front over the divide of the turban a fine and full feather stuck into it and swaying majestically over all, adding a height of a few inches

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to a personality which is tall in its own heritage. In the regular riot of turbans from this region there are to be found all varieties, excepting naturally the non-descript headgear of a close-fitting cap. The Sanci type of heavy turban, without differentiation in the comparative heights of two sides rising over the head, is seen sitting smugly on the heads of the fine or of the stalky persons in pictures 285, 286, 287, 289, 302 and 305. The turbans decorating the heads of males in pictures 291, 292 and 293 are more after some varieties of head-dress sported in the Mathura region. Similarly the squat turbans in picture 297 are reminiscent of the same region. The turban folded by a certain dignitary, who appears in pictures 300 and 303, is nothing but the modern 'pheṭā' or 'paṭkā'. Its upright bunch over the head at the front is schematically represented as more rigid than it could actually be. The same head-dress covers the head of another dignitary, who is engaged as a public weigher in picture 304, wherein two persons, one in the foreground to the right of the person who is cutting his flesh and the other to the observer's extreme right, are wearing a very peculiar covering for the head. It may be described as a high cap, somewhat like the four-cornered cap of Indra (252). The persons are apparently Brahmin males. High conical cap is donned by the umbrella-bearer who stalks behind his equestrian master in picture 293. More interesting than any of these head-dresses, because of its connection with a large ethnic stock, not connected with the region under review but through historical time known to be the backbone of the Deccan, is what neatly perches on the heads of two peasant soldiers in picture 300. The principal personage, majestic and haughty, is engaged in trampling underfoot the symbol of some religious faith. And his immediate followers are in triumphant ecstasy over the situation. The personage is a Buddhist king or nobleman denouncing the earlier faith. It is a sadly ironical commentary on the supposed perfect tolerance of Buddhists towards the older faiths of this land! The bodily frame, the mien and the dress of the two soldiers remind one of the sturdy loyal people who were Shivaji's companions in very much later times. It is interesting and even intriguing to note that their 'pagḍi' or turban is also the self-same variety which the Marathas, the backbone of Maharastra, have used for ages. It being squat sits pertly. Two of its corners project laterally a little on two sides.

Female section of the population of this region rejoiced in even a greater variety of head-dresses. But most of them, even when they carry fantastic ornamentation, are of the squat type (291, 292, 293, 297). The type of head-covering made by the Bharhut Yakṣis with the help of embroidered cloth is represented on the heads of females in pictures 285 and 286. Another head-dress, which depends on the

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intertwining of rich cloth with the luxuriant hair and yet quite novel in its extremely modernist appearance of coiffure, is that sported by the lady of almost perfect limbs in picture 299 from Amaravati on the Kṛṣṇā. For sheer harmony of effect this lady, who has slightly bent her head to the right side in order to put her ornament in its place in the lobe of the left ear, has hardly an equal. Another lady, with equally beautiful limbs and hailing from Nagarjunikonda also on the Kṛṣṇā (305), who has worn a turban of the heavy type with much more elaborately and intricately turned folds, is having a plume added to the already heavily ornamented turban of hers by her amorous husband. Compared with this ornate turban her simple turn of the bunched front pleats to lie over the girdle-zone strikes one as a great contrast. If the beautiful lady in picture 299 has arranged her composite headgear as a round of roll over roll, the whole slightly inclining backwards, the lady who stands third from the observer's right in the second row of the medallion in picture 293 has turned the whole arrangement into a cone resting at an angle inclining backwards. Another variety of headgear, which is almost modernly chic, is the squat folded turban with a boss over the right ear on the head of the lady who is kneeling in worship in picture 292. The confidante and maid-in-waiting of the noble lady in picture 303 wears her almost cylindrical cap so inclined backwards that with a little tilt it would be horizontal with the axis of the head.

The lower garment is the 'dhoti' as elsewhere in its two varieties, broad and narrow. As in other regions it is worn at the waist a little below the navel, which therefore remains exposed to view. The narrow 'dhoti' is either worn with regular front pleats as by the ministers of the sovereign king (285) and by the gentleman making a bow with folded hands in picture 286 or with the little surplus portion tucked behind so that there are no pleats in front and the whole forms a sort of shorts with oblique folds to boot as in picture 289. How supple it must have appeared when its front pleats were formed breadthwise and hind pleats also tucked in is seen in the fine and defiant person with his back to the observer in picture 301. The great monarch of picture 285 shows us a mode of wearing the broad 'dhoti' which is more or less the same as that of the stalky gentleman with the narrow 'dhoti' in picture 289. But here the broad material being worn broad, and the front pleats, turned back for being tucked in there, being lower down, the artist has taken scrupulous care to represent the finely sinuous edge of the lower divide. The whole drapery assumes the aspect of rather baggy and gathered trousers reaching the ankles, the two leg-coverings meeting at about the region of the knees. The flat belt with its central knot and its long arm on the right leg is exposed to view by

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wearing the voluminous upper-cloth slanting at the loins. Its huge loop-tie lies grandly over the left leg giving appropriate volume to a figure, which in spite of its fleshiness might look slender because of its height. The ensemble must be declared to be altogether a picture of rich majesty and dignity.

More often the broad 'dhoti' though pleated breadthwise was so worn that the pleats simply hung in front, the whole giving a neat and supple appearance to its wearer as in picture 291. The rather ungainly, though tall, figure from Amaravati reproduced in pictures 287 and 288 has worn the 'dhoti' somewhat in the manner of the Patna Yakṣa (211). The resemblance refers to the drapery behind. He does not wear the hind pleats. In front his dress differs, as there are schematically arranged pleats, which begin almost at the left extremity and fall in three or four small bundles, the largest of which hangs at the centre straight almost to the ground. The garment is held at the waist by means of a tubular belt with thickened knobby ends. The wearer has shown unorthodoxy in his sartorial inclinations by tying the knot a little to the left of the centre. Thereby he has placed the ornamental rosette of the corded belt at the centre. Most of the knots of the waist-belt that we have come across have been either at the centre or a little to the right side but hardly any towards the left. He has thoroughly flattened the tubular cord-belt over the waist. The pleats are arranged with ornamental endings but in such a manner that they are more levelled than bulging. He has worn his fashionably fork-ended 'dupaṭṭā', scarf, neatly folded with one wrap over the upper part in the manner of the Brahmanic thread. This leaves the long arm down the left shoulder and the back clinging to the body and hanging straight down within a few inches of the ankles. The other arm is turned on itself as it came over the left shoulder to the front and thus made to hang on the left side of the back. In this ensemble it is very short and clings to the back, its forked end being visible about the region of the last rib (288). Not to allow the drapery to increase the volume of the body seems to have been the watchword of this personage in his sartorial arrangements.

The dignitary sitting on a cushion before his angry and challenging sovereign in picture 302 is plainly wearing the horizontally gathered close-fitting trousers, the 'cuḍidāra' pyjamas of later times. The stalky personage (289), the worshipper (286) and the ministers (285) all have worn the belt, the double-knob-ended tassel of the first being particularly rich. In many cases the piece of apparel is round as in the last case and at least two persons have worn it with side knot and a centrally hanging segment of a circle. The scarf then is partially intertwined with this and is disposed

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in large intricate knots at the sides. This is best seen on the striding male in picture 290. and in the case of the male standing at the right-hand side of the observer in picture 291.

Whether as in the above instances in combination and as continuation of the belt or without such intimate connection with it the so-called upper garment, the 'dupaṭṭā', scarf, excepting in some cases, tends in this region as in the last to be used round the loins, forming with its surplus all manner of looped knots generally at the sides (291, 301, 302, 305). The two personages from Jaggayyapeta sculptures (285, 286) have worn their scarf in the contrary manner to the usual one, a mode which we sporadically came across in the Central region. The wrap goes round the right shoulder and from under the arm pit on the left. But the really interesting feature in this drapery of the scarf is that the loose end—one in the case of picture 285 and both in that of 286—stick far out at the left back and leg. The capped Brahmins in picture 304 wear their scarf in the neglige manner, one round the neck in front and the other over both arms. The dignitary at left in picture 303 wears his scarf slightly spread out from left shoulder to the right side and has managed with the usual manipulation, turning it upon itself over the left shoulder, to make both ends dangle behind over it. The dignitary, who appears to be the aide-de-camp of the Buddhist king in picture 300 wears his scarf not much differently.

The two dignitaries mentioned above, the weigher in picture 304 and the umbrella-bearer in 291 all have put on a tunic having long sleeves, rather close-fitting. The tunic which reaches almost the knees is gathered at the neck excepting in the case of the weigher. The folds of the gathers running down throughout can be clearly seen. In the case of the weigher, only the skirt which is flared shows the folds. Sleeves of most of them are very much longer than the arms and settle down on their supports in a number of bracelet-like rings—'cuḍidāra'. This is an element of sartorial ettiquette which afterwards became a distinguishing feature of the 'jāmā' of the royalty and the nobility.

The lower garment of ladies is generally broader than that we met with in other areas, where the broader piece of apparel occurred occasionally. Here the narrow 'dhoti' appears to be far more rare. The ladies figured in the Jaggayyapeta sculptures (285, 286) wear the short 'dhoti' in the standard mode of Mathura and Sanci. In conformity with their head-covering their other items agree with the standard ensemble of those areas. There is not only the heavy girdle-zone but also

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the flat belt to keep the 'dhoti' in position. It is knotted at the centre. In addition they wear their scarf round the loins with its knot below the belt-arm and its arms dangling in front. The lady in picture 286 has found it necessary to take up one of the arms of either the belt or the scarf in her right hand to prevent it from hindering her free motion. The two women in picture 290, who are the only ones to remind us of Mathura and other regions, where the sex-organ in some instances was exposed to view, by their patronage of that convention, also wear the narrow 'dhoti'. One of them, about whose drapery of her scarf round her waist we can be sure, has worn it with two huge loop-knots dangling over the legs at the two sides, a fashionable mode reminiscent of some of the nude women from Mathura region. The rest of the very large number of females portrayed in the sculptures from this region presented in the sequel are shown in a perfectly decorous and modest pose and attire. The material of the garment was perhaps more diaphanous than in other regions. At least the artist has intimated his view of this feature more often and in a more pronounced manner than the artists of other regions. For in his enthusiasm to stress the thin fineness and transparency of the material he has sometimes sculptured his women without the slightest trace of covering over their legs, even at their extremities (295, 299, 305). This speciality is seen to its greatest perfection in the two very fine and almost complete figures of women in the pictures 299 and 305. It will be noticed as a further peculiarity that even with complete lack of the evidence of garment over any part of the legs the artist has almost lovingly portrayed the ornamental fold, with all its beauty and intricacy, turned over the girdle-zone and lying pliantly above the mid-thighs. This mode of the ornamental fold, which is made with the help of the bunch of front pleats, demonstrates both the fashion in regard to the draping of the lower garment and the strength of the sentiment about the exposure to view of the sex-organ current in this region. Another peculiarity of 'dhoti'-draping is the utter absence of the fan-like frontal appearance due to the drawing of the surplus garment to extreme left and tucking it there, a mode which we came across sporadically in the Western and the Eastern regions and more frequently in the Central one.

The broad 'dhoti' is worn in the same manner as the male garment. Its front pleats are fairly ample and very often carefully indicated at their lower extremity for their qualities of imparting the impression of blitheness and suppleness (291, 293). They are almost invariably formed breadthwise, a most beautiful example of which is provided by the attire of the woman standing to the extreme left in picture 297. In the same picture, the lady in front of her has utilized the surplus

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lengthwise. Both draperies are excellent specimens of pleats, folds and knots. The ornamental fold, made while tucking in at the navel the bunched upper end of the front pleats, invariably lies over the girdle-zone and appears to be conceived as a feature of coquetry (291, 293, 296). More often even the wrap of the scarf lies under this fold. It is only rarely as in the case of the two ladies, who have sported their loop-knots almost at the back of the left leg, in picture 296, that the roll of the scarf is allowed to go over it. The highly fashionable lady in picture 299, the knot and the free end of whose scarf are disposed even more charmingly, has not allowed the wrap to obliterate her intricately formed ornamental fold. To judge from the general manner of wear and its portrayal the 'dhoti' was generally worn without hind pleats (302, 304). It does not mean that the mode of wearing the hind pleats was either unknown or sported only by the lower classes. If the kneeling woman, whose back shows her hind pleats quite clearly in picture 301, is a queen's maid, neither the lady kneeling with her head bent low in picture 295 nor the one, who is striding with her back to the observer in picture 294, are such. They are evidently members of the aristocratic class.

I may now draw the reader's attention to the draping of the lower garment adopted by two ladies, one from Amaravati (298) and the other from Nagarjunikonda (303). The lady almost at the centre in one picture (298) has run out into the street to see her lord who has come there as the Buddha. She has quite unmistakably worn a garment which is a 'sari' proper, drawing the surplus portion of it from the right side over the bosom, and has thrown the end over the left shoulder to the back. A large part of her left arm is covered by the spread of her garment. The lady reacting to a dignitary in coy dignity in picture 303, too, must be wearing her 'sari', in the same manner though we see the end of the garment only in its great spread over the left arm and down on the other side but not distinctly over the bosom. The evidence of this 'sari'-drapery, which as we have seen was introduced in the Western region very probably by foreigners, so far south so early as the period of the Amaravati stupa should raise the possibility of its either having some indigenous origin or the probability of its very close connection with Buddhism of a period later than that of Bharhut and Sanci.

The literary evidence which is provided by Buddhistic literature and which I have thought to be relevant to this period, not only confirms in a general way some of the varieties of costume described so far but also provides here and there data about sentiments, the flesh and blood of sartorial bones.

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The lay Buddhists used three pieces of apparel: head-dress, called 'uṣṇīṣa', 'turban'; lower garment or 'dhoti', called 'antaravāsaka', 'inner cloth'; and upper garment or scarf, called 'uttarāsaṅga', 'upper clinging'. Some kind of tunic, too, was sometimes added and was forbidden to be used by the monks. That the varieties of forming front pleats we have encountered were not mere aberrations but were aspects of settled etiquette is one useful piece of knowledge we gather from the scant literary data. At least half a dozen modes of forming and disposing them are detailed along with the specific name of each variety. The tucking of some kind of hind pleats seems to have been a common feature of lay drapery of the lower garment. And it was so distinctive that along with the different modes of arranging the front pleats its use was prohibited to the monks. Similarly the use of waist-string to fasten the lower garment was forbidden to the monks, being current among the laymen. The fashionable varieties of belt we came across find specific mention in the literature, where they are distinguished according to the number of strands that have gone into their make-up, their shape and form and their ornaments and ends. Naturally such vain ways of the world were not countenanced for the monks. The general wear of the 'dhoti' clothed only the lower part of the body from below the waist. There are instructions issued to the monks to drape this garment in a particular manner at meal-time; and we may take the particular mode as the formal and standard etiquette about the wear of the 'dhoti'. A monk on such an occasion must cover himself all round from above the navel to below the knees. There is a technical term to describe this manner of wearing, viz. 'timaṇḍala', 'so as to cover the three circles, i.e. the navel and the two knees.' I may conclude that it was not considered proper to bare the navel or to leave the knees uncovered on formal or ceremonial occasions. The injunction to the monks to wear the upper garment or scarf singly without folds gives one to understand that the wear of this garment neatly pleated was considered fashionable. It appears that not only a suppliant but a junior, too, was to wear it on one shoulder only before his patron or senior. Though the precise nature of 'uṣṇīṣa' or turban is nowhere described it is given as one of the marks of a sovereign monarch and thus of rank in general.

The costume of women was not different, the same three garments and the additional tunic being mentioned. The difference lay in this that the tunic or bodice was considered so necessary a part of female attire that even nuns who visited villages without a bodice on had to perform a penance. It is noteworthy that women generally wore the small loin-cloth, 'laṅgoṭa' inside their lower garment. This we shall come across as the invariable item of sartorial equipment of a Tamilian

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lady. The nuns were forbidden to wear it ordinarily, the prohibition being relaxed only during their monthly period. The only reference to the length of the lower garment makes it either seven, eight or nine hands, i.e. not more than four yards, long.[1]

The very scanty information available about South India refers to Tamilnad. There only two pieces formed the complete attire of males. One was the narrow 'dhoti', better called the loin-cloth, which reached the knees. The other was the head-dress, loosely tied over the head with the help of a piece of cloth. The costume of Tamil ladies was formed only by the lower garment, which extended to the ankles.[2]

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From A.D. 320 to A.D. 1100.

Both the sculptures and the paintings that are ascribable to this period reveal almost the total eclipse of the voluminous turban, so familiar to us in the last period as a piece of head-dress. This feature is the more surprising as we know from a number of Samskṛt writers of the period that the royalty of India indulged in putting on varied and even fanciful head-dress. The few specimens which illustrate the types of headgear sported by males are, however, positively interesting. They reveal the development of regional peculiarities which persisted for a good few centuries.

The high cylindrical cap characteristic of the Sun god's sartorial ensemble is seen in picture 207. A more or less identical cap is seen covering the head of serpent-lying Visnu from Tamilnad (307). The four-cornered cap worn by Indra and this cylindrical cap worn by the Sun god and Visnu between them seem to have been the prototypes of the high cap so current in Goa territories. As we shall see later, the same article with some modification finds favour with the Sonkolis of Bombay today. A conical variety of the same item of attire, donned by two Pallava kings of about the 6th and 7th centuries (309, 310), is even more interesting in view of the fact that a similar cap, only a little more steeply conical, became the standard headgear of the great and famous royal dynasty of Vijayanagar. And we shall see later, it was patronized even by other princely families of Tamilnad. We shall also see that the article was known in Vijayanagar days as 'kullai'. And a conical cap, more or less like it, though not so high, has continued to be known as 'kullai' or 'kullah' from one end of the country to the other. Smaller and less stiff varieties of this sartorial piece occur in plenty in the paintings at Ajanta; and a few of them are presented in picture 282. This type, too, occurs today but not as a regular head-dress among the gentry. But such head-dress with costly decoration, according to the testimony of Bāṇa, was used by royalty in his time.

The squat 'pagḍi' perching on the head from Kosambi near Allahabad (190) registers the continuance of that type of head-dress whose abundant existence we

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encountered in the last period. It may be considered to be the prototype of the flat headgear of Maithil Brahmins of contemporary times (347). One is not quite certain that the white covering on the head of the gentleman leaning on his stick in picture 275 is not a mere piece of cloth. Yet I think it may be construed as the precursor of the white cap of the North Indian 'bhaiyā' which, in a slightly modified form, has been recently known as the 'Gandhi cap'.

From Bāṇa's description of the preparations for the worship of deities made by Tārāpīḍa and Candrāpīḍa it is clear that the practice of wearing a head-dress on such an occasion, which we came across in the Buddhist sculptures of Sanci, continued to be in vogue in some parts of Northern India. The turban was folded out of a piece of white silk.

It is noteworthy that though the youthful Kṛṣṇa in the Paharpur panel (234) wears a sort of a head-dress, later sculptures from the Eastern region foreshadow the partiality for bareheadedness noticeable in recent and contemporary times. At Bhuvaneshvar, for example, as remarked by Rajendralal Mitra, turbans are rarely seen, though the article was held in considerable esteem elsewhere. When turbans do appear they are found perched on the heads either of door-keepers or of ascetics. In both cases naturally enough the forms seen at Bhuvaneshvar are in no respect different from those common at present.

The common garment to clothe the lower part of the body continued to be the 'dhoti', tied more or less in the manner that was getting current towards the end of the last period. Some of the great Gupta monarchs appear on their coins dressed in narrow 'dhoti's (230), which evidently are not draped with that care, usually bestowed on the front pleats, which we come across in the simple costume of divine figures in some of the cave-sculptures of the Deccan (269, 271). The Kṛṣṇa panel from Paharpur in Bengal (234) shows young Kṛṣṇa at least in 'dhoti' with both front and hind pleats. The front pleats are formed breadthwise and simply let fall without further tucking. Sculptures from Tamilnad give additional information about the manner of wearing the 'dhoti'. The Pallava Kings (309, 310) have tucked a small stretch of the portion coming from the right side at the left waist and then pleated the surplus material lengthwise with good care, arranging to show its lengthwise border to advantage as the uppermost pleat. The 'dhoti' is not broad like the modern one or even like that either worn by the ascetic with the pitcher or the one draped on the body of sleeping Visnu or of standing Siva (307, 308). The 'dhoti's

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of all these Brahmanic personages have their front pleats further treated in the standard manner of turning the first pleats for a second tucking.

The boar-god's companion in picture 306 (a) has the lower ends of the front pleats very carefully depicted to show the dangling ends. Though they are not spread out beautifully as a small fan yet the loving care in their depiction foreshadows such fan-like representation of pleat-ends of the female garment, which we shall meet with in Southern India in the next period.

The magnificent male, standing by the side of his horse in the Konarak sculpture reproduced in picture 242, has befittingly worn a broad 'dhoti' so as to provide his legs with a trousers-like garment and yet to leave a cascade of front pleats to fill the vacant space between his striding legs.

When a 'dhoti' has its front and hind pleats treated for a second tucking so that no loose ends are left to dangle about it is said to be worn in the 'pancagaccham' manner in contemporary Tamilnad. We shall see that this is the standard orthodox mode, prescribed and followed in Brahmanic practice elsewhere either in routine daily use as in Maharastra or in sacral use as in other areas. This nomenclature is not found in the sacred literature which I have looked into. In one text the most standard and complete mode of wearing the 'dhoti' is declared to be 'trikaccham', 'thrice-tucked'. In the same passage it is stated that one who does not wear the upper garment or the hind pleats in his lower garment or has only two tucks in it is as good as naked. The standard mode of wearing the lower garment is thus indicated to be thrice-tucked. The gloss, which falls in the next period, explaining the passage provides the additional information that when the 'dhoti' is worn in such a manner, that the hind pleats are formed and tucked in but the front surplus portion is taken up lengthwise, wound round the waist and thus disposed of, it is said to be 'twice-tucked'. The round wrap of the surplus front portion is called the 'demoniac' tuck. We have seen this condemned mode patronized in the North-West in the sculptures of the last period. The Naga chief in picture 273, which is from Ajanta, has donned a narrow 'dhoti' so as to produce the effect of wearing a pair of tight shorts. He has flouted the Brahmanic injunction against the 'demoniac' tuck by wrapping the surplus portion of the length of the 'dhoti' round his waist. The literary evidence is not very explicit on the point. The description of Dadhica by Bāṇa clearly refers to a very narrow 'dhoti' worn with hind and front pleats, the ends of which are allowed to drop over the first tuck. It is clear from some of his

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descriptions of the nobility that the 'dhoti' bore some pictures and decorations. In some cases their borders, with flamingo pictures drawn in them, are referred to.

By the 10th century regional and local peculiarities in the wear of the 'dhoti' had got so definite that Rājaśekhara speaks of four fashions of male costume corresponding to as many modes of female attire as being known in his India. Bilhaṇa, writing in the 11th century, supplies information about a peculiarity of the people of Gujarat in the matter of wearing their lower garment. They allowed the loose ends of the pleats to dangle about. Whether because of this peculiarity or otherwise they were considered to be impure. In view of this the picture of Brahmā from Sindh (100) is very interesting. It is clear that the 'dhoti' is worn without hind pleats, though the front ones are very elegantly done. Kalhaṇa goes a step further and testifies to the prevalence not only of provincial peculiarities in costume but also to the existence of regional prejudices against the sartorial habits of others. The mode of wearing the hind pleats rather long, supposed to be a speciality of southerners, meaning thereby the people of the Deccan, is jeered at. Its currency is credited to the will of a northern conqueror, one of the line of kings Kalhaṇa is concerned to praise in his book, with the desire to proclaim their bestial status. The pleats, thus worn, served to remind the observers of the tails of animals.

At least in one part of the country, Sindh, sumptuary restrictions prevailed. The Hindu king at Brāhmaṇābād had ruled that the Lohāṇas and Jāṭs were not to use silken cloth. They had to go bare-headed and could use scarf only of black or red colour.

While the 'dhoti' was the common male wear for the lower part of the body, at Ajanta in the Deccan, for a few centuries during which pictures went on being painted on the walls of its caves, quite a number of high class gentlemen were depicted as wearing what I have called the 'lungi', i.e. a piece of cloth simply wound round the loins once or twice without any pleats. The 'lungi' at Ajanta is even narrower than the usual article, which has tended to be more or less as broad as the 'dhoti'. The 'lungi' worn by the gentlemen of Ajanta hardly extends beyond the knees. What is of further interest is that the garments of the Ajanta males bear horizontal coloured stripes like those on the garments of females (265, 274). A slightly different and more elegant rendering of the 'lungi' from Northern India is furnished in picture 197, rather a rare phenomenon.

On some of the coins, the early monarchs of the Gupta dynasty are portrayed as wearing the tight and tapering trousers, which may be said to be the precursor of

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the 'cuḍidāra' pyjama (227). In the Ajanta frescoes the picture of Bodhisattya or of prince Siddhartha, the future Buddha, reproduced in picture 262, is very reminiscent of much more recent dress, almost contemporary. The tight trousers in its fit and white colour calls up the vision of a contemporary piece of attire in white 'Holland' worn by some of the vanishing breed of 'princes'. There are many other horsemen and footmen, too, wearing this article of attire. Codrington has called it 'Jodhpurs'. This type of fitting trousers is also seen on the legs of the Sun-god and his attendants is picture 207. Perhaps the donor's representation from Mirpurkhās in Sindh (101) is intended to portray the wearer in similar trousers. The dress of the Sun-god we are told by classical iconographers is the Northern dress. We first came across trousers as a piece of apparel on the persons of some kings of foreign dynasty, that of the Kuṣāṇas (86-88).

Al-Biruni, the traveller, who was an observer and student of Indian life about the end of our period, has obliged us by some comments on the costume of North India which may be appropriately referred to in this context. He has nothing to say about the female costume. In one place while describing the exploits of a Hindu king on the west side of the Indus he has drawn up a contrast between the Hindu dress and the Muslim one. The revengeful Hindu king having vanquished his betrayer enforced the Hindu subjects of his foe to wear Muslim dress as a punishment for their treachery. This was considered to be a sufficiently ignominious punishment. Hindus of the North-West about the end of our period considered the Muslim dress as an abomination for themselves. Al-Biruni, the liberal Muslim, reciprocated the sentiment. For he observes: "When I heard of it, I felt thankful that he was gracious enough not to compel us to Indianise ourselves and to adopt Hindu dress and manners." Yet later in his book he speaks of some Hindus using trousers lined with so much cotton as would suffice to make a number of counterpanes and saddle -rugs and tells us that the 'trousers' "have no visible openings, and are so huge that the feet are not visible. The string by which they are fastened is at the back." While this description of the piece of apparel inclines one to look upon baggy trousers as the garment for the lower part of the body, one is surprised to know that the draw-string was knotted at the back. The fact that Al-Biruni prefaces his description of this piece of apparel by stating that the Hindus use "turbans for trousers" inclines one to the conclusion that here the learned traveller has nodded, and that the voluminous 'dhoti' worn in the 'kācā' style led him astray to describe it as a sort of a pair of trousers, further mystifying description following from his original misconception.

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The 'dhoti' is almost invariably held in position with the help of a belt round the waist. The belt is very often embroidered or otherwise ornamented and has a beautiful clasp at the centre resting over the bunched front pleats (269, 284, 306). The other type of belt, which is a flat piece ot stuff, with its neat bow-knot at the centre, too, continues to be in use, either by itself or in combination with the other belt (268, 271, 272).

The scarf or the 'dupaṭṭā' which has been off and on worn round the loins may be treated here, whether used as a beautifier of the region of the thighs or as the regulation cover of the upper part of the body. The Gupta monarch on his coin (230) has tastefully twisted his scarf high up above the navel at a rather unusual place for the article and has formed a bow-knot at the left side, whose flapping ends harmonizing with the lift of his left leg convey the notion of energetic mobility. Another delicately handled figure from Gupta-area, Avalokiteśvara from Sarnath (197), has used a much more voluminous garment to twist round his thighs and yet to form a stiff-looking complicated knot at the side of his right leg. It ends after a huge bow into three forks, one above the other. This ultra fashionable mode is not repeated elsewhere. The divine personages from the Deccan in pictures 271 and 284 have resorted to the more usual mode of disposing the scarf for adding opulent dignity to the wearer's person. When the 'dupaṭṭā' was worn round the thighs, there was a tendency observed in the last period for a segmental loop thereof to be arranged in front on the thighs just above the knees. This manner of wearing the scarf is seen in pictures 203, 268, 307 and 308. On the person of the Sun-god (207) the scarf is arranged with this loop of the central portion but with the ends going over the two arms. Kṛṣṇā's scarf round his shoulders and chest with both the ends dangling behind adds to the humour of the scene in picture 234. The ascetic with the pitcher in picture 306 and the two attendants in 308, having worn their scarf in the Brahmanic manner, have further elaborated the arrangement by twisting the end, that would have normally fallen in front, over itself and the left shoulder so that both the ends now dangle at the back. This mode of 'dupaṭṭā'-wear seems restricted to Brahmanic and divine personages.

The two cases in the accompanying collection of representations in which the 'dupaṭṭā' is worn round the loins spread out are particularly interesting because of their contemporary echoes. In picture 275, where the gentleman leaning on his stick has wound round his loins a vertically striped piece of cloth, the garment may be the scarf or may be the 'dhoti' itself or some substitute for it. But the royal or

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noble donor from Mirpurkhās (101) has positively draped his vertically striped scarf. The pose of dignity, which this mode of wear was expected to produce, is here enhanced by the ends being kept long and dangling at the left leg. The pouch-like opening due to rolling in of a part is exploited to pose the left hand for dignified effect. The whole ensemble gets added interest because of its contemporary currency among the Kāṭhis, Rajputs, and Grāsias of Saurashtra.

The representative costume of a Brahmin male at the end of our period as it appeared to foreigners is depicted in one of the early Persian paintings. It consisted of a squat turban with a central protuberance over the head, the 'dhoti' for the lower part of the body and the scarf, thrown over the shoulders without covering the body.

We noticed in the last chapter the emergence of some kind of coat for male wear. Though it is not denied that tailored garment for the upper part of the male body was known before that period and even from the Vedic times, what is contended is that the coat as a historically attested piece of attire dates from the last period. And like the trousers it is most associated with the Kuṣāṇa kings. It does not mean that the article sported by the foreign kings became current among the indigeneous population at once. It seems to have made an appeal naturally to the members of the royal and noble families. Anyway the Gupta emperors early in the career of their house appear on their coins in a garment which cannot but be construed as the modification of the Kuṣāṇa coat. Picture 227 depicts the king in full dress in intimate conversation with his queen. Over the tight trousers he has worn a cut-away coat buttoned centrally. The cut-away begins just above the region of the lower end of the pelvis, so that the whole length of the legs is revealed. One wonders whether tallness of the figure was the effect aimed at through costume. The cut-away produces four lapels at the lower end, two on each side. This dress did not continue with the Guptas as their later coins show. It is the contention of some students that early in their career the Guptas were influenced by the manners of the great foreign dynasty or dynasties that preceded them but that when they themselves grew strong they returned to the dignity of the more native and traditional dress of the land. The coat in this cut, or in any approximately like this, did not prove to be a viable sartorial importation or improvization. As will be clear from the sequel it had to wait for about a thousand years to get stabilized as a current unit of the sartorial ensemble of the elite of this land, and then, too, with a full and round skirt. The lapelled end without the cut-away and the buttoned front is met with in the dress of the elite from the 15th century onwards. But as we shall presently see, another item of male attire, similarly hailing from the last period, when it was encountered

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principally on the persons of foreigners or dignitaries, has this feature of four fine lapels at the end of the garment. I shall turn to its description.

A fairly close-fitting tunic, slipped into position over the head, whether short or long, whether with full-length tapering sleeves or with short ones or none at all, is found to be much more common than in the last period. The pottery dancing figure from Pawaya in Gwalior territory (194) wears one made of stamped cloth. It has deep lapels at the lower end giving a highly arched edge. At the waist it is secured in position by means of a cloth-belt or sash, tightly knotted. As such the figure reminds one of the description of Harṣa's door-keeper and of kings in his expeditionary force given by Bāṇa in his *Harṣacarita*. The marketeer from Ajanta in picture 259 has added to his stately dignity by the side of the wild-looking unclad hunters by the use of this garment in plain white, which brings out the breadth of his full chest. Its expanse is visionally exaggerated through the tight wrapping of the lower garment from the waist upto the mid-thighs. The Sun-god and his attendants from Bhumara in Baghelkhand (207) have used a longer tunic, reaching almost to the knees. Its lapels are not long. All of them have used the sash to tie up the garment at the waist. In the case of the Sun-god there is in addition the 'dupaṭṭā'. With the high conical cap the ensemble makes for verticality. It should be born in mind that the writers flourishing later in this period describe the Sun-god's apparel as the Northern dress.

The departure of Bodhisattva painted in the 17th cave at Ajanta and reproduced in picture 262 is significant in the history of Indian costume almost as much as in the history of religion or of thought. The boyish attendant companion to the left of the Bodhisattva wears a sleeveless tunic, more or less of the variety so far described. The youthful companion to the right has put on a tunic with long tapering sleeves and an open front, which is buttoned up. At the waist and over the thighs he has tightly wrapped up his 'dupaṭṭā', under which the end of the skirt is concealed. The Bodhisattva, however, has sported his 'dupaṭṭā' round the upper abdomen and thrown one of the ends on the right forearm. The skirt-end of his tunic, with its fine tapering lapels at the sides and the curved frontage, reminiscent of the high and deep cut-away of the Gupta monarch's coat, is visible. Perhaps his tunic like that of his youthful companion is open-fronted, the line of buttoned front being concealed by the spread of the 'dupaṭṭā'.

A particular variety of the scarf, perhaps broader and larger as well as more costly, was still known by its Vedic name, 'pravāra', meaning 'mantle'. Sometimes it bore the name of its owner on it.

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The costume of the gentleman leaning on his stick in picture 275 is of absorbing interest to all students of Indian dress. I have already drawn attention to his cap. Here I have to describe the article of attire which clothes the upper part of his body. It is unmistakably the double-breasted coat fastened with tapes or strings at the side, which from the 15th century onwards has an assured place in the sartorial ensemble of the elite. Like its successor it has long tapering sleeves. What is specially to be noted is that in the matter of fastening arrangement it proclaims its ethnic affiliation as early as the date of this painting, which cannot be later than the sixth century A. D. The upper flap of the double-breasted garment comes from the right side and fastens at the left arm-pit. This orientation of the fastening arrangement, as we shall know in the next chapter from Abul Fazl's account of his master's sartorial reforms, was considered to be specifically Hindu as against its opposite orientation commonly current among Muslims. It will be further evident that from the time we have clear evidence in art for this piece of apparel either in Persia or in Central Asia its fastening arrangement in those regions has been the reverse that of the coat in the present picture and of the Hindu article. However and wherever this piece of apparel was evolved, it is clear that very early in its adaptation the people of our country stamped their individuality on it by appropriating to themselves the orientation of fastening the upper flap at the left arm-pit, drawing it over from the right side.

While pondering over this difference between the Hindus on the one hand and the Persian, Central Asian or Indian Muslims on the other, and discarding it as trivial perhaps, one should bear in mind the fact that in the buttoning arrangement of the Western coat, the buttoned flap, which is the one on the right side of the wearer, lies just below the one from the left side, when the coat is buttoned up. The arrangement is essentially of the same trend as the Muslim orientation of the 'jāmā' or the long coat. The Hindu orientation is opposed to that of others in the matter of fastening of the coat. On the other hand, it harmonizes with the common Brahmanical mode of tying the lower garment, 'dhoti', at the waist. In its arrangement, too, the upper flap is formed by the portion of the 'dhoti' that comes over from the right side. And it is the tuck of a portion of this flap at the left waist that may be said to fasten the 'dhoti' in its position. Whatever the explanation for the orientation of the fastening arrangement of the coat in this picture, it is clear the choice was made once and adhered to for long, so that it is disappearing only with the disuse of the garment with which it was invariably associated.

Tailored garment for covering the upper part of the body is amply attested

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in the literature of the period as will be clear from a perusal of the data presented in the Appendix. It will be seen that one variety of the tunic was known as 'candātaka', in the last part of which word scholars have seen the continuity of the Vedic garment then named 'atka'. Long, loose, open-fronted coat used by dignitaries like the door-keeper, which is clearly the prototype of the later article of attire called 'cogā', is already known by the name of 'colaka'.

Yuan Chwang, the Chinese visitor of the 7th century, noticed the difference implicit in the Sun-god image from Bhumara and the Viṣṇu sculpture from the South or between the coat-wearing Gupta monarch and the Pallava kings, wearing high caps over bare torsos, in the routine clothing of the populace. He tells his readers that closely fitting jackets—tunics (?)—were worn in Northern India due mainly to the cold climate of the region. Al-Biruni's observation is not quite clear. He has recorded that the upper part of the body was clothed in a garment called by him 'sidar', in which we can easily detect the Hindi 'caddar' or 'cādar'. The garment is declared to be similar to the trousers, which as we have seen, is further likened to the turban. By wearing it, both the head and the upper part of the body are said to have been, covered. Here the reader may be reminded of the occasional Vedic practice of disposing of the loose end of the turban in such a manner as to cover a part of the torso with it, the edge being tucked in at the waist. One cannot feel sure that Al-Biruni is testifying to the prevalence of that mode of turban-wearing. He seems to have nodded rather than presented the reality. The wrap for the torso was so arranged that it was 'buttoned' at the back. In all probability the description envisages the mode of wearing 'cādar', which is common in North India and in Bengal today particularly in winter, though Al-Biruni's inability to realize the manner of wearing has led him into adding rather inconsistent details.

The female dress of the period, due allowance being made for the lack of our knowledge of sartorial details of the North and the West, registers items and modes which make the female costume of about the end of this period the standard dress of women for many centuries. Almost in every region, in her costume woman of the last period bestowed special attention on the covering for her head. The head-dress, whether the chic and costly close-to-the-skull covering of embroidered cloth or the very voluminous turban, tilted or otherwise, or a type of bizarre cap or its kind, was encountered on the heads of females even when fashionable coiffure was done. The head-dress then was more or less a matter of sentiment. In this period, on the other hand, the head-dress is so rare and special, that one may conclude the prevalence of

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a positive sentiment against the use of head-dress by females. It is only the sculptures and paintings of divine and semi-divine individuals that show some kind of covering for the female head (260–1). Literature of the period is in harmony with the practice revealed by art. Excepting for the special head-band for a crowned queen no head-dress is mentioned in the descriptions given by poets and dramatists.

This disappearance of head-dress from the female armoury must be harbouring behind it some portion of significant social and ethnic history. We have seen that in the Vedic age head-dress was not common for females and that head-dress in general was perhaps a great speciality of the eastern peoples. The last period was politically the period of eastern dominance. And it is likely that head-dress as an item of female attire came into favour with the spread of the cultural influence of the easterners, particularly through the propagation of their two religious systems, Buddhism and Jainism. In the middle and later parts of the period the political and cultural leadership passed to the Vedic Brahmanic peoples on the one hand and to the Buddhist-Brahmanic foreigners on the other. Neither the one nor the other people were fond of female head-dress as a separate piece of apparel. The disappearance of head-dress was accompanied by the strengthening of the sentiment for the practice of drawing one portion of the scarf, which has been almost an invariable constituent of the sartorial ensemble of females from the Vedic times onwards, over the head. The purpose of this practice and the social sanction of this sentiment, as literature of this period reveals, lay in the idea that it was improper for married elite ladies to expose their faces to the gaze of strangers in daily intercourse. The sentiment was so deep-rooted and the practice of drawing the portion of the overhead scarf in front of the face was so established that the Saṁskṛt words for the article of dress used for this purpose proclaims it unequivocally. One of the words, 'avaguṇṭhana', meaning 'wrapper', does it literally, while the other, 'niraṅgi', meaning 'extinguisher', does it by reference to its end, viz. of concealing the limb par excellence.

The only exception to the absence of head-dress in female attire is provided by the sculptures of the queens of the Pallava kings, Siṁhaviṣṇu and Mahendravarman, who flourished in the last quarter of the sixth and in the first half of the seventh century respectively, in the temples of Māmallipura or Mahābalipura near Madras (309–10). All the four ladies in the two pictures wear high conical head-dress, which looks very much like the traditional 'mukuṭa' head-dress of Hindu gods.

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.The sculpture of a female with a powerful nose found at Pawaya in Gwalior territory (195), the sculptures from Sarnath depicting a dance-scene (192, 193), and the representation of Nanda and Yaśodā (205), the adoptive parents of Kṛṣṇa, from Deogarh in Bundelkhand all show the scarf drawn well over the head. One of its ends is further drawn from under the right arm over the abdomen, where one corner of it is tucked into the bodice so that a squarish portion of the scarf rests over the abdomen and covers it. It is clear that the other end of the scarf must be tucked in at the left waist. It will be evident in the sequel that this disposition of the scarf, already met with in the last period, has remained the standard mode of wearing this item of attire in Northern and Western India. Three of these four ladies (192, 193 and 205) have put on a cut and sewn garment over the upper part of the body. It is close-fitting and has either long or short sleeves. The lady in picture 195 has put on a long close-fitting tunic with perhaps full-length and fitting sleeves. Her garment may be considered to be the prototype of the later 'salukā' of the Panjabi ladies. It is very interesting to note that she has also worn the tight drawers. Similarly one of the Sarnath danceuses (193) has worn tight drawers, though the other (192) has put on the 'dhoti' with only a few gathers formed in the front centre. Yaśodā, with her heavily pleated 'ghāgrā', proves true to the later Rajasthan type, wherein the skirt, as will be seen below, is a huge affair.

Literature of the period more often than not refers to a cut and sewn garment covering the female bosom. Perhaps already early in this period there existed at least two varieties of it, which have persisted till to-day. One of it fastened at the back and the other was knotted centrally just below the breasts. The first was common in Northern India, while the latter was favoured in the Deccan and the South. Towards the end of our period a king of Kashmir, who was a self-willed and reforming personality, introduced the Deccan variety into Kashmir. His zeal seems to have proved of no avail as later history shows. The garment was called 'kañculikā' or 'kūrpāsaka'. Perhaps the variety of it, which is more a short jacket, known to-day in the North as 'kuḍtā' was also current. A Chinese dictionary of the latter half of the 8th century A. D. lists 'kuratu' as the Saṁskṛt equivalent of a Chinese word which means shirt. And Al-Biruni later noted that females in North India wore 'kurtaka', which was a short shirt extending from the shoulders to the middle of the body and had sleeves. This is precisely the article in use during recent and contemporary times. It might have been the lineal descendant of the article of attire that appears on the persons of foreign ladies in the sculptures of the last period (40, 92, 93, 96).

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The 'dhoti' and scarf worn in the manner of the above ladies is another variety of ensemble, which, as we shall see later, is not represented in recent and contemporary sartorial armoury. Yet it seems that in the experimentation which must have preceded the settling down of sartorial types it must have been one of the many. It is preserved not only in the dress of the Sarnath danceuse (192) but also in the much later sculpture of a lady from Garhwa in Allahabad District, reproduced in picture 200. The 'dhoti' which the lady has worn is broad enough to reach to the ankles but is rather short and provides only a small bunch of gathers very much like those of the danceuse. Identical is the 'dhoti'-wearing of the tall ladies from Bundelkhand portrayed in a piece dating about the end of our period (210). They have revealed not only the thick chain or zone or belt, which holds the 'dhoti' in position at the waist, but also the right tuck of the inner flap of their garment. They seem to carry their scarf, 'dupaṭṭā', in the older manner without spreading it out over the head. The goddess Tārā and her attendant in a sculpture from Sarnath (198) have held their 'dhoti' with the help of a heavier zone, reminiscent of those of the last period. The garment worn by the finely moulded figure from Kota in Gwalior territory (208) may be 'dhoti' worn in the above manner or skirt, 'ghāgrā', without heavy pleats. The wearer is immersed in ecstatic trance while dancing and her garment has obliged her by shifting appropriately, a feat almost impossible for the 'dhoti' to achieve. The lady in the nativity scene from Pathari (206), too, has put on a 'ghāgrā' without many heavy pleats. The belt-cum-chain-ornament for the waist may be noted as the precursor of the many stereotyped waist decorations from about the end of our period. A lady from Garhwa in Allahabad District portrayed in a piece of sculpture ascribed to about the end of our period (201) has obliged us by preserving a demonstration of the manner in which the Sarnath danceuse might have put on her tight drawers. A ladies' orchestra and dance scene from Pawaya (204) shows a tall and lanky lady dancing dressed in such drawers, over which she has donned a heavy girdle-zone almost of the pattern met with in Sanci sculptures. Her fashionable coiffure does not outdo the extremely original disposal of her scarf..

The style of 'dhoti'-or 'sāri'-tying in which the flap coming over from the right leg is carried to the left leg and its upper corner tucked in at the left waist, leaving either a cascade or a carefully arranged bunch of pleats by the side of the left leg, which we encountered sporadically at Mathura, in fair frequency at Sanci and Bharhut and in some cases in the Eastern region, is apparently displaced from these areas and we shall now meet with it in the Deccan. Yet the older mode of wear has been preserved in the Malwa–Bundelkhand area in a few examples, which only support

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the obṣervation that it was a dying mode in its earlier provenance. The lady of the Gandharvà couple from Sondni in Gwalior territory (202) has worn her 'sāri' or 'dhoti' drawing the surplus portion to the left side and forming a knot at the waist and has allowed the remaining portion to fall in a cascade at her left. The wearer being in flight this cascade, in the hands of the artist, has become his tool to convey the notion of great motion. The 'dhoti' or 'sāri' is pretty broad, ending a little above the anklets. The lady to the observer's extreme right in the Deogarh panel (203) illustrates the mode even better. Her wear brings out the beautiful oblique folds in the fan-like spread of the garment in front as well as the grace of the side-cascade of pleats. By wearing the many-stranded zone with the fine central clasp she has further strengthened the likeness of her wear with that much more current in her region in the earlier period. The Chinese traveller I-tsing has noted that among the followers of one school of Buddhism the nuns, and perhaps all the lay women, used to put on their lower garment in a manner which I am tempted to identify with this type of 'dhoti'-wearing. It was considered to be a characteristic of the followers of that school, distinguishing them from others.

The short 'dhoti' or 'sāri' donned by the goddess Gaṅgā from Besnagar (199), a place in between the two previous places, is worn in a manner not very common in this region. It is tightly drawn in and tucked in all probability with hind pleats. The whole wear gives the idea of a tight-fitting pair of drawers. More or less similar in essence is the dress of the handsome 'apsaras', a semi-divine being, from Khajuraho, a place not very far in the same region (209). But the figure shows the stereotyped elaboration of mediæval sculpture and thus lacks in interest for the student of sartorial detail. The malish-looking female flywhisk-bearer from Sarnath (191), whose back-view alone has been available to me, demonstrates that the appreciation of transverse folds at the back, created with the help of the scarf, had become much more sensitive than in the last period. Similar folds in the garment of the flywhisk-bearer from Besnagar (133-135) are seen to be rather crude and heavy in comparison.

The dress of the queens of Gupta monarchs, who ruled over Northern India from the city of Pāṭaliputra (Patna), naturally opens my account of female costume in the Eastern region. The standing queen (227) shows the wear of her 'dhoti' to advantage. We see the general lie of the garment over the legs and that of its pleats in front, the bunched lower end being shown in a fairly fan-like spread. The representation of Lakṣmī, the goddess of wealth (228), brings clearer appreciation

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of the breadth of the garment, as its lower end lies on the ground, the wearer having sat on a chair. The artist has taken care to convey the impression of the pleats being many and full. The edge of the bodice, clearly seen under the breasts, testifies to the use of that piece of apparel and illustrates its type, the rather short one intended to swell out the bosom, prevalent in elite society in the near east of the country. From both pictures it may be inferred that a piece of cloth or a close-fitting skull-cap is used to hold the hair firmly down. The representation of Lakṣmī in picture 229 is very instructive and important; for in it the feature of the 'dhoti', or rather the 'sāri', which is often warmly appreciated, viz. the central tucking, is very prominently figured out. The front pleats when bunched up are held in position by their upper ends being tucked into the wrap of the garment at the navel. The tuck creates a protuberance. In a few cases of the last period we encountered this in a slightly elongated barrel-shape (221), which corresponds to its present or rather recent appearance in the sartorial ensemble of Maharastrian ladies. In the dress of Lakṣmī in this picture it is represented in a roundish ball-like form, which harmonizes better with the Hindi likening of it to a lemon.

This feature is conspicuous by its absence even in the wear of the 'dhoti' or 'sāri' in that mode with which it was associated in the last period. Wherever the bunched pleats are shown, their tucking in is managed without giving rise to any protuberance at the navel. This is quite possible and usual when the pleat-ends are inserted between the wrap of the garment round the waist and the skin of the body. In any other disposal of the ends of the bunched pleats there results a protuberance. As we shall see later, this protuberance was once appreciated, and has come to be disliked in recent times. Does the almost total absence of it in this period, except in the above case, reflect contemporary dislike of it? I do not think so. The literature of the period, though it has not preserved any warm appreciation of the feature, has preserved its name, which makes its protruding nature quite manifest. The Vedic word 'nīvī', meaning this central knot, is preserved, and another, 'uccaya', is added. 'Uccaya', meaning protuberant collection, brings into clear relief the character of the central knot of the pleats. A Jain work, definitely datable before the 7th century A. D., has preserved this word in the Prākṛt form of 'ukkha' and has added the very significant observation that it lies "over the middle part of the lower garment arranged as a round protuberance near the navel."

The striped 'dhoti', seen on the person of the statuette from Nalanda (233), does not show the pleats finely arranged, and is held at the waist by a girdle whose

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clasp seems to accommodate the tucking in of the bunched end of the pleats. In contrast with this, stand the neat figure of the goddess Gangā, and the even the neater one of her attendant from Iśvaripur in South Bengal, reproduced in picture 235. The front pleats of their 'dhoti', though they are rather few and hence do not create a protuberance at the navel, are yet very clearly indicated in their sinuous frontal lie. At the waist in both cases the girdle restrains them. In much greater relief stands out the fan-like spread of the equally tenuous pleats of the 'dhoti' of the Nepalese figure of Lakṣmi (245), which at the navel are flatly accommodated. This treatment by the Nepalese artist deserves attention as it appears to be more after the style of the treatment on the Gupta coins than the one to be met with in the South Indian sculptures of the next period. The figure of Gangā from Cuttack (232) appears to be clad in 'dhoti' with very few pleats, which are indicated rather schematically as the frill of the garment. One is tempted to treat her wear as the 'lungi' type, which is unmistakably seen on the beautiful female legs from a temple in Orissa (238). The frill of the piece coming together in the centre is rather realistically treated by the artist. The wear of the smiling female from Rajgir and of the fine but rather pensive female from Rajmahal, both in Bihar, are clearly of the 'lungi' type. The side tucks are plainly visible in the former case (231). In the latter case (243) a heavily chained girdle-zone has smothered their existence. Three of these females have worn the scarf in the standard manner so common with males and sometimes with females of the last period. The two ladies in the scene of Kṛṣṇa's childhood from Paharpur in Bengal (234), too, have donned the 'lungi' type 'dhoti' with its frill falling over the side of the left leg. The 'dhoti' is rather meagre and has had to be drawn quite tightly, giving the wear the appearance of the hobble skirt. The garment being broad reaches the ankles. The two fashionable ladies reproduced in picture 236 are from Khiching in Mayurbhanj territory. Their 'dhoti's or 'sāri's are rather narrow and end about their calves. One of them has worn her short garment closely drawn in. The wear resembles very much that of the goddess Gangā in the Besnagar sculpture above commented upon. The other had a longer garment and not only could form ample front pleats but also sport them rather coquettishly drawn in behind, a mode of wearing getting rarer in the region. The semi-divine female, figured on the Rājarāṇi temple at Bhuvanesvar (237), shows the narrow 'dhoti' worn in the stereotyped manner beginning to be common in art towards the end of our period. The sculptures from Rajshahi in Bengal, figured in pictures 240 and 241, show the broad 'dhoti' worn in the manner of the above figure with the waist-zone much more decorated. As the standing female, who represents

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the goddess Gangā (241) shows, it has a general resemblance with the 'dhoti'-wear which we shall encounter in the bronzes of South India in the next period.

We see that the Western and the Central regions in spite of some variations in female costume were settling down to sartorial ensembles, which were to be more and more adopted in the next period and to be their representative types during recent and contemporary times. The same cannot be asserted about the Eastern region. It still clung to a mode which was Central in its origin and affiliation. But as we shall presently see, Rājaśekhara, a writer on poetics of the 10th century A. D., saw sufficient reason to distinguish the costume of Eastern females from others and to recognise in it a distinct variety among Indian costumes prevalent in his time. We shall also see that the peculiarity he attributes to it is the one, which creeps out here and there in the next period and is well known to be its feature in recent and contemporary times.

The Deccan revcals a story more like that of the Central region than of the Eastern. It even improves in a way over that of the Central region. Here we find that a dress, that was common at Sanci and other centres of the Central as well as of the Eastern region and was also represented at Mathura in the last period, appears frequently in the sculptures of the caves in place of the older one represented in pictures 264 and 270. The new dress as portrayed in these sculptures is still common among some classes as costume for females before marriage, and perhaps was so even by the beginning of the next period. Curiously enough it is not represented in the vast panorama of female costume provided by the paintings at Ajanta. Yet one type of dress occurring among Ajanta females is based on a feature which has been, till today or recently, looked upon as a characteristic of Maharastrian female costume. And the wear illustrated in the cave-sculptures, which is taken as the representative dress by Rājaśekhara, though it does not resemble the type of Ajanta dress under description, had, I think, this feature of hind pleats in common with it.

The sculpture from Verula (Ellora) in picture 267 shows the ecstatically posed lady wearing a 'dhoti' or 'sāri' with the end coming from the right leg drawn firmly to the left, where with a few puckers or gathers the upper corner of it is secured in the flat belt and the other allowed to fall over the leg. In appearance the fan-like frontal spread differs from that on the person of the Deogarh lady (203), because the garment being short and narrow only one corner could be tucked in. The other corner falling down between the legs produces the appearance which we encountered

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in the bracket figures from Mathura and Sanci. The puckers or gathers in their fine fall are very carefully indicated in the sculpture of the graceful, though disfigured, lady in picture 271. In picture 283 the central lady's costume illustrates even the nice transverse folds that the tucking of the puckers produces. The representation of the same costume in picture 284 shows the lower corner dangling at the feet of the wearer. The three ladies engaged in playing devotional music figured in picture 263 form one of the many masterpieces of paintings of females at Ajanta. We ought to be very thankful to the artist for the loving care with which he has painted the details of costume and for having presented his female subjects with their backs to the observer. Two of them clearly show the hind tuck, the mode of wearing it without forming very regular pleats having enabled the wearers to leave rather fashionable streamers behind. These streamer-like portions, harmonizing with similar endings of the scarf thrown round the arms, create the impression of material dynamics in sympathy with the mental dynamics which their wearers are enjoying. The third lady has taken a last wrap of the surplus portion of the 'dhoti' over the hind tuck and has thus concealed it from observer's view. One is tempted to see in this adaptation of the mode the prototype of the manner of wear common with Tamilian ladies. It should be noted that another aristocratic lady (266), whose front view we are privileged to have, has this last wrap too, which going over the other wraps has concealed the division caused in front by the hind tuck. Another interesting detail of her costume is that the 'dhoti' has an ornamental border, both lengthwise and breadthwise. The attendants catering to the needs of the lady engaged in her toilet in picture 256 show this dress, though their mistress is clad only in short drawers, the 'ardhoruka' garment of Samskṛt lexicons and literature. The mistress and her attendants have worn the jewelled waist-belt. The use of the small divided garment here associated with domesticity is in keeping with the narrow 'dhoti' that seems to have been the general wear at that time. Another aristocratic lady highly praised for her graceful form (280) has put on the shorts, which are very much more decorated. This feature leaves hardly any doubt about the garment used by itself. The narrow 'dhoti' worn with front pleats drawn in at the back and tucked away, thus producing a kind of shorts–'kācā' of contemporary males–is represented on the person of Pārvatī in a sculpture from further south, from a locality which is included in Karnataka (268).

The flawless-footed lady with a magnificent chignon in picture 279 has wrapped herself in a single piece ending in an ornamental border. The manner in which the piece is tied between the breasts just under the arm-pits produces the

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effect of a combination suit without suspenders. It is an aberrant type. Perhaps the fan-bearer of picture 255 is dressed in a short 'ghāgri' also encountered in some other pictures at Ajanta.

The most frequent, at least the most impressive, female ensemble because it has occurred fairly often and on persons of aristocratic ladies in memorable situations, is the 'lungi' type of wear. It is effected with the help of a piece of horizontally striped cloth which is held at the waist simply with two tucks of its corners or with a corded and variegated piece of cloth. In its very short form, barely covering mid-thighs and producing ultra chic effect, it is seen to the best advantage in pictures 260-1. The semi-divine beings portrayed therein may be declared to be belles par excellence. Three ladies in as many different positions in pictures 277, 278 and 281 fully demonstrate the lie and artistic effect of its broad variety, reaching below the calves.

The inquiring female with a child at her waist (258) has put on a close-fitting tunic with short sleeves, a piece of attire not at all common in this part of the country. The devotionally tuned female leading her child in her front (257) has used a more or less similar type of garment but very much cut away at the back side. Over the back in the region of the chest she has worn a huge bow made of the material from the cut away tunic. The danceuse in picture 276 has enhanced the effect of such garment with the addition of tapering sleeves in contrasting colour.

The total disappearance of the 'lungi' type of female dress from this region is a matter of great interest for the student of sartorial history. But its prevalence among Muslim males in many parts of the country and its currency among the females of Burma and Indonesia place the feature in the much larger context of ethnic and social history, for the unravelling of which we are ill-equipped in the present state of our knowledge.

A particular variety of bodice, fastening in front and designed to swell out the female bosom, was, according to the floating literature collected by Hāla about the beginning of our period, a speciality of Maharastra. Rājaśekhara, a Maharastrian writer of the 10th century A. D., has referred to the use of this piece of apparel by ladies of this region. Harṣa, a king of Kashmir, who, according to Kalhaṇa, was a zealous dress-reformer, is said to have appreciated this article of the Maharastrian female wardrobe and to have introduced it in his land. Works ascribed to a very early part of the next period, speak of the piece of apparel in its Marathi name of

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'coli' as one unit of the pair of garments, donned by a lady. Yet neither in the few sculptures nor in the vast panorama of Ajanta paintings is there an unmistakable representation of it! It is a phenomenon I am unable to account for.

There is a great deal of significant detail not recorded by art which is revealed by literature. Kashmir, for which I have received no help from art, was making sartorial history about the end of this period. A king, who had reforming zeal and was self-willed, Harṣa by name, introduced certain reforms in the costume of his people, particularly of the womenfolk. The changes which he sought to effect meant the introduction of the habits of Maharastrian ladies. First, he required the womenfolk to cast off their head-covering and reveal the beauties of their coiffure. Second, he exhorted them to adopt the close-fitting short bodice common in Maharastra, which was better designed to swell up the bosom. It is clear that the reforms were dictated by the artistic preferences of the king. The changes, not having emanated from the people themselves, vanished we do not know how soon after the king.

Many of the female figures studied for their costume show their navels and some part of the abdomen. Samskṛt poets from time to time refer to the female navels in such a manner that one is led to think that they were bared. On the other hand, there are sentiments expressed which make the exposure of arm-pits and such other parts an occasional affair of haste or carelessness. General sentiment therefore was in favour of concealing the figure so that when appetite cried for satisfaction special contrivance had to be devised. Writers on erotics looked upon a lady's pointing at the bunched and tucked in pleats of her lower garment as evidence of an inordinately ardent desire on her part to meet and embrace her lover. The political moralist, Kauṭilya, went a step or two further and laid down the law that a woman holding out the knot of her lower garment shall be punished with the first amercement. For him it was definitely an offence, perhaps against sex. It must be pointed out in fairness to him that males doing the same were to be punished twice as heavily as females.

Rājaśekhara, writing in the 10th century, divided the female costume of his India into four regional varieties. Of these the one prevalent in Malwa and adjoining parts, on his showing, was only a mixture of the two varieties current in the two contiguous regions on its two sides. Thus there were three regional varieties marked off from one another. One prevailed in Magadha, Orissa and other parts of our Eastern region. Its special feature, as noted by Rājaśekhara, was that one and the same garment, covering the lower part of the body and the upper part, was so disposed as

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to go over the head and to leave the sides and the arm-pits exposed to view. We shall note that lack of a bodice to cover the bosom was a characteristic of a Bengali lady's costume during recent and contemporary times. Bengali female dress was thus fully set into a mould by the 10th century A. D. Rājaśekhara's details about the North Indian, the Kanaujian, regional variety of dress, are not so definitive. He alludes to the straight lie of the broad lower garment. He fails to make it clear if a portion of the lower garment went overhead as in the case of Bengali dress. Nor does he inform us of the use of the 'ghāgrā', skirt, and scarf, or 'oḍhṇi', as the article came to be known later, by the ladies of the 'middle country'. Even with regard to the female dress in the land of his origin, Maharastra, the information he vouchsafes is meagre. Whether the ladies of Maharastra used to draw a portion of their lower garment over their bosom and thus drape themselves in what I shall be designating as 'sāri'-drapery is not clear from his account.

Taking the relevant data together I may conclude that in Northern India at least two varieties of female dress, not necessarily differentiated as provincial or regional peculiarities, were known. One of them had the 'dhoti' as the lower garment while the other used the heavily puckered or pleated skirt. In both, the upper part of the body was clothed in a bodice. And over all was used a scarf, the later 'oḍhṇi', so as to go over the head too. It is an intriguing fact in the sartorial history of India that the full 'sāri', covering in one sweep the lower as well as the upper part of the body, encountered in the costume of foreign-inspired sculptures of Mathura in the last period, does not re-appear in that region in this period. It seems to have disappeared from it as if by magic or as if it were against the grain. And yet its prevalence further east in Magadha and Bengal is attested for the end of this period by Rājaśekhara. This 'sāri' dress seems to have found a congenial home in that region! I have postulated its existence among Vedic peoples. It appears that perhaps only a section among them had it. May it be that that section happened to colonize the easternmost part of the country and continued its characteristic costume?

Though the female costume of one section of the Vedic people consisted of the one 'sāri' being used to drape the lower and the upper part of the body it does not follow that the 'sāri' used was a long piece measuring about eight to ten yards like the 'sāri' of Maharastrian and Tamilian ladies of recent times. To judge by the volume of the garment, its folds and its surplus over the shoulders, as appearing on the persons of Nāgiṇī and Hāritī of Mathura, however, their 'sāri' should have been nearer the eight yards mark than the five yards one. It is very instructive to note that the

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draping of that lengthy garment is attested for Maharastra at almost the beginning of the next period and not during this. Royalty of Maharastra was connected by marriage with the foreign dynasty of the Kṣatrapas of Ujjain in the first few centuries of the Christian era and with the family of the Imperial Guptas in the 4th century. The female dress attested for Maharastra in this period is either the old 'dhoti' without hind pleats, which also remained the costume of Gupta ladies, or the equally old 'dhoti' with a fan-like spread in front and side tucking of pleats current in Malwa not only in the last period but sporadically even in this. It was known in the last period even at Mathura in the west and at Bodhagaya in the east. With this dress goes the feature of hind pleats. This mode of wearing the lower garment has remained with us till today though restricted to specific classes and to certain states of civil condition. The wearing of hind pleats is a typical feature of the sartorial ensemble of Maharastrian ladies in recent and contemporary times. Thus the mode of 'sāri'-wear so typical of Maharastra had not as yet fully developed. But the North had more or less shed away the feature which was to be Maharastra's characteristic. The dress of South Indian females in this period is known from the two pictures of two Pallava kings and their four queens. No very clear conception of it is gathered from the available details. We may safely conclude that the peculiar manner of wearing the 'sāri' prevalent in Tamilnad, wherein the pleats are all concealed under the last wrap which envelopes the sides and the upper part of the body and produces a slight twist in the wrap was not fully developed. The mode of making the final wrap go over the pleats is known from the dress of a few ladies in the paintings at Ajanta.

REFERENCES

Appendix; *Parāśaramādhavīya*, Vol. I, pt. I, p. 265; Hemādri, Vol. III, pt. I, p. 370; *Vācaspatya*, vide 'Uttarīya'; Mitra, R. (2) Vol. I, pp. 218-9; Vaidya (2), pp. 164-6; Watters, Vol. I, pp. 148-151; Sachau, Vol. I, pp. 20, 180-1; Codrington (2), p. 160; Moti Chandra (3), pp. 22-23, 25, 35; Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* (Eng. trans. by Shamshastry) p. 198; Blochet's *Musulman Painting*, pl. II.

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6

From A.D. 1100 to A.D. 1800.

The regionalization of Indian costume, which we observed exemplified and described towards the end of the last period, is fully borne out by the artistic remains and contemporary accounts of this period. Towards the middle of the second period occurred the first infusion of foreign sartorial habit. Its influence proved to be ephemeral in many respects. In some aspects particularly as sported by the royalty and the nobility, foreign items were transformed in a manner which vindicated the essential genius of our people for synthesis. The foreigners soon became not only acclamatized but also the 'new natives' of the land. Their costume, with slight modifications, due both to the prevailing sentiment as well as to the climatic conditions of the country, became one variety of Indian costume in Panjab and Rajasthan, and in the female attire, another in Maharashtra. In the third period within about two centuries from its beginning foreigners, like the Huṇas and Gurjaras, began to pour in. We have no evidence about their costume, either documentary or archæological. But we know that they, too, soon settled down to be the natives of this land, accepting the religion and culture which prevailed here. The fact that very soon after their dynastic stabilization regional peculiarities in costume are in evidence means that they introduced some kind of leaven. The earliest preserved painting from Rajasthan depicts a male costume which is hardly different from that encountered in some parts of the country early in the last period but not specifically attributed to the Hindus by the Muslim scholar Al-Biruni.

In picture 103 where Kṛṣṇa is painted in the early Rajasthani style as waiting eagerly for Rādhā he wears a long coat usually called 'jāmā'. But it seems it was also known among the Hindus as 'aṅgarakhā' i.e. 'protector of the body'. It was long enough to descend to the knees and even to the calves. It had long tapering sleeves. Whether there were a large number of bracelet-like folds formed over the arms by their surplus length or not it is not quite clear. In another picture (106), however, the bracelet-like gathers are quite clearly seen. It was double-breasted, the upper flap coming over the right side to be tied with its tape under the left

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arm-piṭ. This feature, as already noticed, was a peculiarity of the Hindu garment. In early Musulman paintings reproduced in Blochet's book on the subject, Persian, Mongol or Turk, whoever wears a long coat with double breast has the upper flap coming from his left side and going over to the right side. It is tied with its tape under the right arm-pit. This is not only the case with paintings of the 12th and the 13th centuries which are mainly studied by Blochet but also with those of the fourteenth century Persian miniatures illustrating the *Shahnama*. Only one person in the latter miniatures wears his 'jāmā' tied at the left arm-pit.[1] Abul Fazl informs us that wearing the 'jāmā' fastened on the left side was considered as one of the twelve things which adorned a man. He calls one type of coat 'takauchiyah' which from his description is clearly the same as the 'jāmā' or the 'aṅgarkhā'. He imparts the instructive information that before Akbar's time the upper flap coming from the right side was tied at the left arm-pit. This is the precise manner in which the short double-breasted coat of the gentleman of Ajanta in picture 275 and the 'jāmā' of Kṛṣṇa in the picture under reference are worn. He also vouchsafes that it used to have slits in the hem of the skirt, which I have called lapels. The 'jāmā' with lapels in the hem of the skirt and the flap fastened at the left arm-pit is proclaimed by Abul Fazl to be the Indian form of the coat. According to him it was Akbar, known to historians to have renounced Islam and to have been pro-Hindu in his practices, who laid down that it should have a flap that could be tied at the right arm-pit and a round skirt without lapels. Thus the pro-Hindu tolerant Akbar attempted to change the style of Hindu sartorial ensemble and make it conform with that of the Muslims.[2] As later pictures, 104, 109, 118 and 132, show, though the lapels disappeared and the skirt became round, his reform regarding the upper flap failed to materialize. Even his partisans among the Hindus, the Rajputs, continued to have the flap brought from the right side and fastened under the left arm-pit.

The legs are clothed in what is later known as 'cuḍidāra' pyjama (104, 106). The head-covering was generally formed by what is known as the Moghul turban, but what I have shown reason to think to be the resuscitation of the ancient Eastern headgear (106, 107). Here and there as in picture 109 the head is covered by a freshly folded turban which has great resemblance to the later 'sāphā' or 'paṭkā'. In another late picture, 118, side by side with the Moghul turban occurs another variety. The turban of common people (115) would appear to have been very much like the contemporary one. With all this the 'dupaṭṭā' is used to advantage more as a sash for the waist rather than as the covering for the shoulders. And the fashionable variation centred round the borders of the piece of attire and its volume

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and spread round the waist (104, 109, 132). But the ancient purpose of the venerable 'dupaṭṭā' is not forgotten. Not only did Brahmins (106), as we shall see presently, sport it only in the ancient manner and thus keep up the traditional continuity but even the royalty and the nobility paid homage to it by sometimes using another 'dupaṭṭā' over and round the shoulders, depicted in pictures 116 and 131 by their artists to great advantage. The piece is now largely ornamented and in Gujarat pictures (119, 120, 122) generally has two breadthwise borders. In the above one it has also the lengthwise borders.

The above ensemble was more or less the regular attire of the Rajput nobility. It can be inferred from the picture 132, which must be taken to refer specifically to Gujarat, that in Rajasthan as well as Western and Northern India in general the gentry was usually clad in 'cuḍidāra' pyjama, and in long 'jāmā's with the upper flap over the chest fastening under the left arm-pit. A scarf or 'dupaṭṭā' was thrown over the shoulders without being spread out and another was sometimes used round the waist almost as a waistband (103, 132). The head was covered either with the so-called Moghul turban or with varieties of turbans resembling some of the recent patterns from Rajasthan (126, 132).

The Brahmins, however, are all depicted with 'dhoti' as their nether garment. Whether it is Sudāmā, the Brahmin co-student of Kṛṣṇa (106) or Bābā Malukdās and his nephew Rāmasnehi (107) painted by Rajasthani artists or the Brahmins painted by Gujarati artists (119, 120, 122-24) everywhere it is the same 'dhoti'. It is mostly worn in such a manner that the front pleats are formed breadthwise (124, 129). In no case does one come across their second tucking. This feature is rather surprising in the case of Brahmins at least, being in direct contravention of the sacred injunction referred to in the last chapter. It is perhaps this feature of the mediæval Gujarati manner of 'dhoti'-wear that was the object of Bilhaṇa's remark about the Gujaratis, viz. that they do not tuck in the folds of their 'dhoti'. By the end of this period, however, the custom had changed at least as far as the Brahmins were concerned. The picture of a Gujarati Brahmin beau of the end of the 18th century as painted by K. M. Munshi runs:[3] "His angarkha was of thin, Dacca muslin, tight-fitting and embroidered. His 'dhoti' came from Nagpur, and had the broad red-silk border which even the rich coveted; and he wore it with finical grace. He never went out of doors without first donning newly dyed and fresh-folded deep-red turban from Nadiad".

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In some of the pictures (119) we find not only the folds made lengthwise but sometimes the 'dhoti' tucked without folds with a length of it taken round the waist, a knot made with it at front centre and the remaining end of about a foot or so simply let fall (120). Some of these 'dhoti's, particularly those worn in the manner just now described, are richly coloured, patterned or embroidered. In their pattern and their mode of wear they resemble their contemporary female counterparts. Here one is reminded of Hemacandra's[4] observation that the males of Saurashtra sported lower garments like those of Gujarati females.

The short-sleeved rather open-fronted waist-coat-like garment put on by the Yakṣa in picture 120 may be noted. Though no compeer of the 'jāmā' of Kṛṣṇa or of the Jain gentry (132) and much less like that of the Gujarati beau of the end of the 18th century, yet in its raciness of the soil and consequent vitality it has beat the more magnificent and opulent 'jāmā'.

The picture (244) of a religious procession from Bengal ascribable to about the end of this period shows the Bengali devotees in 'dhoti'. Some of them have donned a turban, which is not very different from the Maithili one of recent and contemporary times (347). And the literature of the 16th and 17th centuries lends support to the supposition that the inevitable 'caddar', the scarf, was also worn.[5]

The peasants and ordinary people of Northern India, as Babur has recorded[6], however, were dressed only in a 'laṅgoṭi', not very different from that of the Sonkoḷi or the Wārli of the contemporary scene appearing in pictures 364 and 361.

In the South it was not only the common people of Calicut as observed by Abd-er-Razzak in the 15th century[7] but also the kings of Vijayanagar and of Madura that wore what is called the 'laṅgoṭi' but what appears in reality to have been a narrow 'dhoti', which did not reach below the knees. In this respect the picture of Kṛṣṇa Rāya of Vijayanagar in the company of his two queens (315) offers a much greater contrast to the picture of Simhaviṣṇu of Kanci (309) than to that of the Nāyak king figured in 316. Kettan Ādittan in 311 and Tirumal Rāya in 316 show a mode of 'dhoti'-wear which reminds one of that of the Haslars of Mysore (370). The prevalence of the broad Brahmanic 'dhoti' is attested by bronze images of deities of a slightly later age (313-14).

All the three kingly pictures from the 7th century to the 16th century A. D. agree in not having the 'dupaṭṭā' or scarf thrown over their shoulders. Their

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head-dress, too, is almost identical. The high conical cap worn by the Kanci king is further refined so that it tapers up smoothly. That the head-dress in its refined shape as donned by the Vijayanagar kings proved its value is clear from the accounts of the Portuguese visitors to the court. Their description of the headgear leaves no doubt that they were mightily impressed by it. I have indicated its hoary antiquity and northern origin and also suggested that high head-dress of Viṣṇu in some of the sculptures cannot but be looked upon as its cousin. The traveller Varthema has recorded that the king wore a cap of gold brocade two spans long while Nuniz has described it by naming it as 'culae' and its material as brocade. Duarte Barbosa refers to the use of small turbans and brocade caps by ordinary males.[8]

The kings and the nobles figured in the pictures are naked above the waist and thus are in direct traditional descent from the Pallava kings of the 7th century A. D. Yet some of the travellers of this period like Barbosa and Nuniz testify to the use of a garment either somewhat like the 'Nehru shirt' of recent times or the shirt-like piece seen on the person of Siddharth in the Ajanta paintings (262). According to Nuniz the garment was called 'bajuri'.[9]

The Panjabi female's attire is illustrated by the picture of the design on a glazed tile (56) believed to belong to the 18th century. The piece of apparel that clothes the upper part of the body appears to be an open-bosomed jacket worn over an under-garment which must be like a shirt though buttoning on the back. The flat collar of the jacket is rather intriguing. The scarf, or the 'dupaṭṭā', is thrown negligé over the head and recalls many a contemporary scene. The mode of dressing the lower part of the body is not clear from the picture.

In the dress of ladies of Rajasthan and North India four varieties may be distinguished, of which one was perhaps restricted to North India east of Mathura or Sirhind. It consisted of one piece of cloth, referred to as 'lung' rather than as 'lugaḍē' or 'sāri', clothing the lower part of the body as well as the upper part, a portion also resting over the head. In short, it is the same variety as the contemporary five or six yards 'sāri' which is becoming common. Whether as at the present time there was a skirt worn underneath it, it is not possible to be sure about. It is illustrated in the picture of the prince drinking water at a well and in another wherein Akbar is engaged in the same act (108, 105). The painting makes the border of the 'sāri' quite clear. And the way the garment is draped, it serves to frame the figure as in modern usage in some parts of the conntry. The lady in a

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charming dance-position in picture 117 has worn a 'sāri' which is decorated and has sported the surplus portion of it coming over the right shoulder in the modern manner, which shows the rich and broad breadthwise border to advantage over the abdomen. This mode is rather exceptional in these paintings.

The second variety appears more frequently in the Kangra paintings and might have been restricted to very rich or noble ladies. Its Muslim affinities are patent. For, the legs are covered with very tight drawers which are sometimes visible (116). Over them a high-waisted frock-like long coat, touching the ground, having long tapering and close-fitting sleeves, clothes the entire figure from the neck down (109, 111-13, 116). In the pictures 111 and 113 the wide flare of its skirt behind evokes comparison with certain Victorian frocks of English ladies. The additional pleats making up the wide flare are best seen in 111, where also the contrast between this variety of attire of the principal lady and the next variety on the persons of her attendants must strike an observant reader. The garment is known as 'jaguli' and is reminiscent of the coat-like apparel described by Bāṇa. In four of the pictures the fine narrow border at its lower end evinces the refined taste both of the wearer and of the artist. In three of them the beauty of the pattern is heightened by the equally graceful vertical borders in the centre from the navel down (109, 111, 116). Needless to say, it bespeaks oppulent grace. To add to it there is the even more graceful scarf worn in a negligé yet tasteful manner, which is more or less standardized. Though it does not frame the face in as effective a manner as in some other disposals of that garment yet the combination is pleasing. The 'guṇagarvitā', "proud of her virtues", lady in picture 112 significantly has changed the pattern slightly and has matched the ornamental grace of her instrument in her hands with the rich breadthwise border of her scarf, and thus proclaimed her individuality.

The ensemble seen on the persons of the two devout ladies in sylvan surroundings in the 18th century painting in picture 110 illustrates the third variety of female attire at its best and most modest form. It consists of a 'ghāgrā' or skirt which is fairly close, and not heavily pleated or flared, and is finely patterned. At the navel end its tubular receptacle for the fastening string, often being in contrasting material, stands out as in 111, 114 and 115. At the lower end the fine border appears to have been an occasional feature of personal taste (111). The bosom is clothed in a bodice which is short enough to leave most of the body between the breasts and the navel uncovered as in pictures 111 and 114. The type of this piece of apparel, most in favour, would appear to be the one which covered the back side as well. One is

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thankful to the particular artist who painted the spring activities of a fine Pahāṛi lady in the picture 114; for he has revealed the back of the bosom of the lady in her special activity and thus illustrated the back-side of her 'coli', bodice. The sleeves terminate half-way down the upper arm. The graceful third item of the ensemble was the scarf or 'dupaṭṭā' which was generally so disposed as to cover a large part of the exposed front and to frame the face with a portion of it drawn overhead. The loose end was thrown negligé over the left shoulder. The framing of the face is most effectively seen in picture 110; and its special service to the lady in picture 114 cannot be over-estimated.

The fourth variety of female costume is best seen in picture 106, which depicts the scene of Kṛṣṇa's old co-student, the Brahmin Sudāmā, visiting him. Kṛṣṇa is being attended to by his wives. At least seven ladies have put on the 'ghāgrā' or skirt, which is fairly wide at its lower end, over which the short 'sāri', or the long 'oḍhṇi', is worn in the 'sāri'-fashion. A few pleats are folded breadthwise and are tied in a bunch over the skirt at the navel with the help of an ornamental string from which depends a pair of pompons. The rest of the 'oḍhṇi' is taken from over the left side and is rested over the head behind, the loose end being allowed to dangle over the right shoulder at the back and the right side. It has lengthwise fine borders but does not seem to have the showy breadthwise one. The 'coli' appears to be the focus of fashion. It is not only a chic piece of apparel, but also with its V-shaped, and sometimes Y-shaped, neck permits an exposure not generally possible in many other types of 'colis' or bodices. A further source of fashionable variation lies in its ornamentation. The very short sleeves and body enhance the contours of the arms and the breasts. The fine borders both below the breasts as well as over the arms give further definition to them. The intent and eager ladies in picture 102 wear a 'coli', bodice, which has a close-cut round neck and appears to fasten at the back. They have worn the front pleats of their 'sāri' or 'oḍhṇi' tucked into the skirt at the navel and not fastened into a bunch. Thus their dress ensemble is identical with that of Rajasthani ladies of recent and contemporary times.

The prevailing pattern of female costume in the Western part of the United Provinces during this period seems to have been the first variety of dress described above; for Babur has recorded that women dressed themselves in a cloth, called by him 'lung', half of which went round the waist and the remainder was thrown over the head. Abul Fazl describes dress as one of the sixteen things adorning a woman and testifies to the prevalence of the other variety of female dress, which is more

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associated with Rajasthan. He notes the use of 'lahaṅgā'—in contrast with the drawers, it would appear, of Muslim ladies—as the lower garment. He describes it as "a waistcloth joined at both ends with a band sewn at the top through which the cord passes for fastening"; yet further adds that it was made in other forms too. The other variety of costume according to him made use of a large sheet in addition to the 'lahaṅgā'. It must have been the garment, which I have described as 'oḍhṇi' above; for, like it, a part was worn at the waist and another part over the head. Some are said to have worn a veil in addition, while others yet to have patronized the 'pyjama's. All respectable ladies it seems used to wear a jacket or bodice, either with long sleeves reaching the fingers or with short ones ending at the elbows. It was then known by the same name as it has had during recent times, viz., 'aṅgiyā', which is derived from the Samskṛt word 'aṅgikā', "pertaining to or clinging to the body".[10]

The variety of Gujarati female costume which appears on the person of Śāradā (121) is very much like that of the male in its lower garment. The upper part is clothed in a bodice which is long enough to cover the body almost upto the navel. The sleeves would appear to reach the elbows. The 'dupaṭṭā' or scarf, whether it is used as such or when it is partially treated as 'oḍhṇi' or 'sāri', being placed over the head, bears not only the lengthwise borders but also the breadthwise showy ones (126, 127, 128, 129). Indeed in the richness and ornamentation of the garments Gujarati ladies in surpassing others of their times vied with their males. The prevalent early mode of dress consisted of a rich piece broad enough to reach the ankles and just long enough to go round the loins once in the manner of 'lungi' without any pleats anywhere. Among the pictures above referred to no. 128 illustrates how the garment was held in position by the portion coming from the right thigh being brought to the left waist and that from the left thigh being taken over it to the right waist and the corner tucked in there. At the ankles-end, more often than not, the garment is depicted as pushed forward as if the portion represented its pleats (125, 127, 129). Sometimes as in picture 126 the end stands out at the back side. The bodice was more often the long variety almost covering the whole of the upper part of the body (125, 126, 127) but occasionally, as in 129, was short too. The sleeves, except in the case of the proud lady in picture 127, ended at the elbows. The last lady's sleeves finely taper to her wrists. Except in picture 129, the scarf is draped without being carried over any part of the head. The ladies in trance around Kṛṣṇa in picture 129 have donned it so as to rest a portion of it over the

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front side from the right shoulder to the left waist, i.e. in just the opposite direction of the Brahmin male's sacred thread.

The latest variety of costume of Gujarati females is almost a replica of the Rajasthani dress, consisting of 'ghāgrā' or 'skirt', rather short 'coli' or bodice with short sleeves and 'oḍhṇi' draped 'sāri' fashion with a few pleats formed and tucked in at the navel (130, 131, 132). The bodice in picture 132 is clearly of the open backed variety. The dancing female wears the drawers for legs and an overall garment very much like the 'jaguli' and has gracefully fastened a scarf round her waist.

Ibn Battuta visiting South India in the second quarter of the 14th century observes[11] about Honavar in Kanara district: "The women of this town and all the coastal districts wear nothing but loose unsewn garments, one end of which they gird round their waists, and drape the rest over their head and shoulders." Literary references to female dress of about this time in Marathi envisage both 'coli' and 'sāri'. The latter piece of apparel was not only worn so as to cover the bosom in its sweep but also the head.[12] The picture of Kṛṣṇa Rāya of Vijayanagar and his two queens (315) shows the queens wearing what must have been a nine yards 'sāri' though the whole of it is wound round the lower part. The front pleats with their fan-shaped fine spread at and over the ankles is a feature which is repeated in the 'sāri'-wear of the later Tamilian lady Vengalammā, the queen of Tirumala Rāya illustrated in 316 and appears in the wear of earlier lady in picture 311, who is the wife of Kettan Ādittan, in a rudimentary form. The small fan-like spread of the pleats between the upper thighs in the pictures 315 and 316 reminds one of similar feature observed in the dress of the females sculptured on the stupa of Nagarjunikonda. They wear a fairly fashionable and high head-dress, which is again fan-shaped. They do not seem to have drawn any portion of their 'sāri's over the upper part of the body. Yet it is not only about Honavar and the coastal strip that travellers of the 16th century, i.e. more or less contemporary with the personages portrayed in the above pictures, and also of the 17th century record the use of single 'sāri' to cover both the lower and the upper part of the body but also about Vijayanagar and Golconda.[13] Viṣṇu's consorts in the late Chola bronzes (313-314) illustrate the purely Tamil dress with side pleats but without the 'sāri' being drawn over the upper part of the body, while Rukmiṇī and Satyabhāmā in picture 312 show perhaps the Telugu mode.

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7

Recent and Contemporary :

Northern, Western and Central Regions

We have by now arrived at the stage of Indian social history where costume like many other items of culture has to be studied on the background of linguistic areas rather than that of the older geographical ones. Full justification of this treatment will be afforded by the subsequent description itself.

To begin with the Panjab, the usual dress of the males consisted of the pyjama as the lower garment, either a baggy one slightly gathered at the ankles-end with vertical gathers or a 'cuḍidāra' one with bracelet-like horizontal folds. The former pyjama is a characteristic piece of North-Western apparel decking the lower portion of the male body and is attested as a member of the female wardrobe much earlier. It is otherwise called 'suthnā', a term which more usually denotes the female counterpart of this garment. The 'cuḍidāra' pyjama, the other variety, links up the Panjab male dress with that of Rājasthān and Hindusthan or hither India. It is fairly loose up to the knees and fits rather tightly below up to the ankles where it rests in a large number of horizontal folds. These folds it is that have fixed the appellation of this piece of male attire. They appear like bracelets which are worn by Hindu females on their wrists. And as bracelet is 'cuḍi' in Hindi and some other Indo-Aryan languages, this pyjama, which has these bracelet-like folds, which distinguish it from other pyjamas, is significantly named 'cuḍidāra pyjama'. 'Dhoti' as a piece of apparel for clothing the lower body of males is very much less in evidence in the Panjab than in the United Provinces, or further east or south. It was even less common than in Rājasthān and perhaps in Sindh and Saurastra too. Those classes which donned the 'dhoti' did so more frequently in the 'lungi' fashion, known in Panjabi as 'tamba', rather than in one of the standard forms of putting on the 'dhoti' prevalent further south or east. A small minority of males, perhaps Brahmins and allied classes, wore it with one end, that on the underside, coming from the left thigh, drawn behind and simply tucked in at the back. The other end, that from the

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right thigh, was gathered into a few pleats which were tucked in at the navel without any further elaboration. The cloth worn in this manner is, as in other Indo-Aryan languages, known as 'dhotti'. Though the 'dhotti' is known and worn on occasions more or less in the manner in which the 'dhoti' is donned further east and south, certain terms and their denotation indicate that the pleats or gathers of the lower garment to be tucked at the back are both an insignificant feature as well as a late practice. The words denoting this feature in most Indo-Aryan and even Dravidian languages appear to be based on the Samskṛt word 'kaccha'. And yet the word 'kaccha' itself and the derivatives like 'Kacchoṭā' and 'kāsoṭā' in the Panjabi language denote not the gathers of the lower garment but the garment itself or its dimunitive version, the loin-cloth. The lower garment is otherwise known as 'tahamat', a word which occurs in Bihari in connection with female lower dress. The 'tamba' or the 'lungi' manner of putting on the 'dhoti' consisted in taking up the 'dhoti' and after doubling it, so that its length is halved, in simply wrapping it round the loins and keeping it in position by a sort of knot made with the two ends meeting at the navel.

The upper part of the body was more often covered by a kind of tunic with long sleeves, called 'kuḍtā'. If it was not devised to button up centrally it was designed so that it could be buttoned up only on the left side. But more respectable and ceremonial ensemble consisted in attiring with a kind of shirt over which was to be donned the spacious looking long coat, called 'ackhan'. Both 'kuḍtā' and 'ackhan' rake up long and distant vistas of cultural affiliation. The term more Indo-Aryan in formulation, 'aṅgarkhā' seems to denote more or less the same kind of long coat but perhaps with wide sleeves instead of tapering ones. Other words like 'jāmā', 'cogā', 'cughā' and 'coḷā' indicate a longer garment with a fuller skirt and invite comparison with similar garments in the Rajput paintings. 'Jāmā' in particular is the ceremonial coat of the old order and was used along with the 'nimā' which was an inner garment. 'Nimā' was a sort of a tunic which extended upto the mid-thighs. It had short sleeves and was buttoned up centrally in front. This combination recalls the picture of Kaniṣka with perhaps only slight variation. 'Capkan' appears to me to be nothing but a variety of 'nimā', a sort of rather close and longer 'kuḍtā' with perhaps short sleeves. If 'cogā' and its cognates represent the open-fronted variety of the ankle-long coat, the ensemble of a 'capkan' and 'cogā' better represents the dress of the Kaniṣka statue. The term 'mirjāi' attests the use of a piece of apparel which is much more common further east, where it is known by the same term and is only a short version of a 'jamā' or an 'ackhan'.

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Over the head they used to wear either the conical cap, called 'kullah', round which was folded a piece of cloth with one end flapping down the neck behind, called 'sāpha' or simply a loosely folded turban, called 'pāg'. Both the word and the object 'kullah' have even longer and more distant reverberations than either 'ackhan' or even 'kuḍtā'. The 'pāg' is more restricted in its terminological associations, being essentially the same as 'pāgaḍi', a word which in most Indo-Aryan languages denotes the male head-dress. In its own form of 'pāg' it finds a resting place in the last member of even the Dravidian word 'taḷepāg' indicating some kind of male head-covering. The word 'muṇḍāsā' denotes either a turban or a cloth wrapped round the cap. It occurs in identical form in Marathi and in the Dravidian languages to signify a similar piece of attire. That the cloth with which a turban is folded should be indicated by the word 'canderi' or 'candeli' is a sufficient indication that the famous place in Central India, which supplied fine cloth to peoples round about, also catered to the tastes of the Panjabis. As there are many Sikhs even children are seen with turbans (317).

Panjabi ladies used to be dressed in 'salwār', 'khamis', and a scarf. 'Salwār' is a kind of pyjama, the same as the first variety of it worn by Panjabi males and described above. Of course the material out of which this is made for ladies is much richer than that used for the pyjamas of males. Yet it is noteworthy that even the female garment does not necessarily have borders at the ankle-end. Perhaps the female 'salwār' is slightly longer than the male pyjamas. At least the 'salwār' of the bride must be long enough to cover her feet almost completely. It was otherwise called 'suthni', 'suṭhni' or 'suthan' words which are met with in Sindhi. 'Khamis' is the word which in most Indian languages denotes a piece of apparel, which in English is denoted by the word shirt and seems to have been coined after the French-Portuguese word for a similar garment, chemise. It appears that the earlier term for this garment in Panjab was the same as that for the male piece of apparel, viz. 'kuḍtā'. Whatever the appropriate term, the garment as a member of the female wardrobe is very much different from both the male 'kuḍtā' and the European shirt. It is like the male 'kuḍtā' in its length, reaching as it does to somewhere about the mid-thighs. It is perfectly shaped to the figure and not kept loose at all. Its sleeves are long and much more tapering and therefore fitting than those of a shirt. Thus it is eminently fitted to bring out the contours of the female figure. The third standard article which completed the attire of a Panjabi lady was the scarf, variously named as 'cunnī', 'cunrī', 'cūnaḍī', 'dupaṭṭā', 'oḍhaṇī', 'bhocchaṇ', 'pocchaṇ' or 'cop' 'subbara' and 'lācā'. The last three terms represented special varieties of the scarf and were provided with borders, 'kanni'. Others may or may not have them.

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,Bhocchaṇ' and 'pocchaṇ', which, unlike the previous terms, occur also in Sindhi, denoted a rather larger version of the scarf, while 'cunnī' etc. referred to one smaller than it and one sported by younger females. It is interesting that in these terms, 'cunrī' and 'cūnaḍī', is enshrined the appreciation of the Panjabis for that far-famed piece of apparel, which has evoked poetry both popular as well as elite, the beauties of 'cunari' being sung in the folk-songs of many Indo-Aryan languages and in classical Hindustani music, though the ladies in many of these areas did not wear it as a principal garment.

Though 'salwār' or 'suthan' was the most usual piece of apparel for the lower part of the body yet there is reason to believe that in earlier times the skirt was the more orthodox attire. It was worn ordinarily in recent times by Gujar and other castes. And among many castes the bride was made to put on a skirt over her 'salwār'. Among the three standard articles of female dress for which Panjabi language has one word, 'teur', comprised in that trousseau figures the skirt but not the 'salwār'. There is also a special word for the border of a skirt which is not used for the border of either the scarf or the 'lungi', viz. 'lāwin'. The terms for the skirt are the common ones, viz. 'ghāgarā', 'ghagarā', 'ghāgarī', 'sāyā' and 'lahaṅgā'. The fuller skirt of the Kanjar and other dancing women is denoted by a word of non-Indo-Aryan origin, viz. 'pasuāj' or 'pasvāj'.

That an overall garment like the 'jaguli' of Rajput paintings or the 'jhagula', a word which for the Panjabis stands for a similar garment worn by Kasmiris, was formerly in vogue is rendered plausible by the fact that even now the bride, at the time of marriage, has to put on over her dress, comprising the standard three articles, a long coat-like garment. Significantly enough it is given the appellation of Samskṛtic associations, viz. 'coḷa', which reminds one of the Samskṛt term 'colaka' for an open-fronted coat reaching up to the ankles. The other word in Panjabi which also denotes this garment, 'sālu', draws our attention to the persistent endeavour of the Panjabis to keep themselves in touch with their brethren further east and south, even though living among surroundings which had the effect of almost cutting them off from them. The word in many other Indo-Aryan languages denotes a costly 'sāri'. The specific article called by that name in the other areas being not in use in Panjab, the word not only came to be applied to the special garment used by the bride but also in the modified form 'sālū' to one somewhat like the original garment. It signifies a thin red cloth used by women, while the Hindi 'syālū' simply denotes the female scarf. The common Indo-Aryan word for the female garment,

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'sāri', in its Panjabi garb as 'sāṛhi' conveys to a Panjabi the meaning of "a cloth with red border worn round the waist by Parsi and Hindu women". With the 'sāri' goes not only the lengthwise border, which is associated in the Panjab with only the scarf but also the much more showy and broader breadthwise one. The lengthwise border is denoted by such words as 'kannī' and 'goṭha' both of them commonly used for it further east and south. The breadthwise border, for which most of the Indian languages have a special term, naturally is unrepresented in Panjabi. It is instructive to note that the specific word which denotes this border of the 'sāri' in the languages of Northern India, like Rājasthāni, Hindi, Gujarāti and even in Marathi, 'pallo', occurs in the Panjabi form as 'pallo', 'pallarā', 'pallūrā', and denotes the only kind of border known, the lengthwise border of the scarf, along with the words already mentioned.

Though we are informed that Panjabi ladies did not use any undergarment below their 'kuḍtā' or 'khamis' the language shows not only the common Indo-Aryan term for the ladies' breast-garment, 'coli', but also has two or three words peculiar to it. Thus 'beur', 'bewar' and 'jhaggī' all denote bodice. In the trousseau, which among the Aroras is sent by the bride's people to the bridegroom's at the time of betrothal, is invariably included a 'coli', bodice.[1] The shoulder-piece of a 'coli' is singled out for a special name, 'goṭh', which also means the border of a garment.

It is possible that the Panjabi ladies' dress experienced its first modification in its pristine form when the 'ghāgrā' or skirt (320), gave place to the 'salwār' as the predominent garment for the lower part of the body. With the 'salwār' went the 'kuḍtā' or the 'khamis', throwing the 'coli' or bodice into the background and even making it redundant (318, 319). Its second modification is formed by the very recent use of the 'sāri' and the blouse among the well-to-do and educated classes or towns people. With this change the 'coli' or bodice comes into its own with the less fashionable classes, while the fashionable ones bring in with the European blouse the European breasts-supporter.

In Sindh, excepting Banias and Brahmins in Upper Sindh, the males sported the gathered pyjama, called the 'suthan', and over it a shirt designated by the Perso-Arabic term 'peheran'. It is interesting to note, in view of the old Indian partiality for the waist-band so very well illustrated in the plates of this book and lovingly dilated upon in the Pali books, that the cord fastening the garment at the waist used to be of many coloured cords and was even jewelled. It was evidently an article of artizan workmanship and had developed an industry of its own. The

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'peheran' like the Panjabi 'kuḍtā' opened on the left side of the chest. Its sleeves were wide and without cuffs. It varied in its length, and when rather short and ending at the waist would appear to answer the description of a 'mirjāi' or a 'caubandi' or a 'bārābandi' of areas further east. Only its sleeves seem never to have been tapering and fitting like those of the eastern garment. Over it the better class of people wore, when going out, a long coat, known in Sindh, too, by its usual Indo-Aryan designation, 'aṅgarkhā' and not materially different from the eastern garment of that name. Over this again was donned the standard Indo-Aryan or rather Indian article of respectable attire called by its eastern name 'dupaṭṭā'. It was generally a coloured piece in Sindh and as usual could be turned into a waist-tightener, 'kammarband', on occasions. The Panjabi word, 'bochaṇ', for the female scarf was applied by Sindhi Muslim males to their 'dupaṭṭā' if it was of cotton and white in colour.

The orthodox and proper head-dress indoors was a simple white 'topi' in the north and an embroidered cap in the south. In public, with slight regional variations as regards shape and make and ethnic differences in colour, a close-fitting turban, shaped like a pie-crust and having a narrow projecting rim all round at the lower end, like the 'sajjā' of domestic architecture, decked the heads. The exception to this rule of the head-dress as also to that about the other pieces of attire was formed by the government servants, known in Sindhi as Amils and by pleaders. They wore on ceremonial occasions, in the Muslim fashion, the Sindhi hat called 'serai ṭopi' or 'sirai ṭopi' (399(1)). It was cylindrical in shape and rose above the head at least one foot and ended at the top in a flat round and broad rim all round. It thus presented the appearance of the English top-hat turned upside down. On occasions the Amils sported the common Rajput head-dress of 'paṭko', better known in the eastern area by the name of 'sāphā'. This 'paṭko', too, though it had its close affinities with Indian head-dress of eastern regions, was very well represented among the Muslim royalty of Sindh and might have been affected by the Amils just for that association. In the beginning of the 19th century surely the Mirs of Hyderabad surpassed all other princely and non-princely people in the hugeness of their turbans by utilizing eighty yards of fine gauze to fold one.

Sindhi ladies wore the gathered pyjama, 'suthan', as a covering for the lower part, 'peheran' or shirt for the upper, and added a thin veil, called in Sindhi 'rawā' as a covering for the head. When going out women of respectable classes put on a skirt, known by its Perso-Arabic name of 'peshgir', over the pyjama. The veil,

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'rawā', for outdoor purposes was replaced by a sheet, called by its Hindi appellation of 'cādar', which was worn precisely in the Rajput and Hindi fashion so as to cover the head, the bosom and both shoulders. The difference between the richer and the poorer classes shows itself more in the material of the garments than in their pattern except that poorer class women dispense with the pyjamas altogether. They only wear the skirt.[2]

British domination brought in its wake the first modern change in Sindhi costume. The broad pyjama without gathers almost entirely replaced the old gathered pyjama in the wardrobe of Sindhi males. The shirt became a real garment of that description instead of remaining the old 'peheran'. Coat and trousers of the European cut began to be sported by the official and educated classes. 'Dupaṭṭā', scarf, receded into the background and became confined only to certain old people. Somehow a new item of head-dress not only appeared on the scene but with rapidity displaced the older habit from the heads of not only younger but even of the older generation. It was the modified form of the headgear known as the 'Hungarian cap'. In the late eighties and in the nineties it appears to have been made of velvet. It was either oval or rather elliptic in shape and in Sindh seems to have been of black colour. The 'serai ṭopi', the peculiar Sindhi headgear, was relegated by the Amils, who took to the English hat, to the local pleaders. Women's dress, too, seems to have made a bid for a change. The 'sāri' as worn in Northern India began to be toyed with, though it did not replace the older dress. With the 'sāri' of course went the blouse.

Rājasthāni males of the ordinary populace clothed themselves with three pieces of attire (322-27). The 'dhoti' or the loin-cloth which covered their lower body was generally, as with similar classes of people further east, a much smaller piece than the standard 'dhoti' of the well-to-do classes. It was a sheet of local manufacture measuring about ten feet by three feet. Naturally it could not reach much below the knees. In this feature the Rājasthānis were simply carrying forward the tradition of the well-to-do of olden times, who as we have seen rarely sported a 'dhoti' which could cover their calves. The upper part of the body was dressed in the typical piece of attire of North Indian populace and was called 'bāṇḍiā aṅgarkhā' or in some parts 'baṇḍi', which would appear to be the short form of the full appellation. It may be described as a short coat closely fitting the body and fastened with tapes, either over the chest or on the left side. Its sleeves used to be long and narrow. It was fundamentally the same garment which in other Indo-Aryan areas was called

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'mirjāi', 'caubandi', 'bālābandi' or 'bārābandi'. As favoured by the typical classes of Rājasthān it would appear to have special affinity with the garment worn by typical classes of Saurāṣṭra, where it is known as the 'pāsābandhi keḍiyũ'. Its peculiarity lies in this that instead of fitting closely to the body below the chest it falls over that part in fairly close vertical gathers. Thus it has a distinct skirt of its own. Its affinities with a foreign piece of apparel can be appreciated by comparison with pictures (91-93). The third indispensable piece of attire was the covering for the head with the very unassuming name of 'potiā'. In Hindi further east 'potiyā' denotes a piece of cloth worn at the time of bathing. In reality the headgear is an unambitious variety of the Rajput 'sāphā', which further south in Marathi is known as the 'rumāl'. A sheet to be just thrown over the shoulders and called 'kheslā' may or may not be worn, though a number of the pictures show it. With the well-to-do, the 'dhoti' not only becomes the standard garment in point of length and breadth associated with Brahmanic culture but also is a finished loom-fabric with a coloured border. Tthe border for 'dhoti' is attested in the 15th century paintings. Border for kingly attire is clearly mentioned as early as the 7th century by Bāṇa, and is seen on the garment as depicted in the sculpture of the Pallava king Mahendravarman (310). It is generally worn in such a way that its left-side portion is drawn up and tucked behind and the right-side remainder is folded breadthwise into a few pleats and tucked in at the navel.

The writer and the official classes as well as the Rajput gentry (321) substitute the pyjama known as 'cuḍidāra pyjama' for the 'dhoti' and the 'kuḍtā', the collarless and cuffless shirt for the 'bāṇḍiā aṅgarkhā'. Over the 'kuḍtā', however, is worn the 'ackhan' or the 'lambā aṅgarkhā', the two pieces of apparel being distinguished from each other both by the buttoning arrangement as well by the nature of the sleeves and of the skirt. One variety of the 'lambā aṅgarkhā' or long coat is known as 'vāgo', a word not uncommon in Saurāṣṭra. 'Potiā' naturally gives place to a more graceful and dignified headgear which is rather typical of Rajput nobility and appears elsewhere in India in the wake of the far-famed Rajputs of old times. The turban is either called by its universal appellation of 'pāg' or its variant, 'pāgrā', or 'pecā', a word which further east and south either denotes a fold of the turban or occurring as the second member of the compound word 'śirapeca' denotes a particular type or part of it. The 'pecā' turban is folded with a strip of fine cloth, about nine inches in breadth and about eighteen to twenty-five yards in length. In folk-literature sometimes the word 'moḷiyā' is also used to denote the headgear; and five-coloured turban is the coveted type of it, 'picaraṅga peco' or 'picaraṅga pāgaḍi'. Many other

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peoples of Rājasthān, generally known in other parts of India as Mārwāris, wear turbans, 'pāgri', which are made-up before and simply put on or off like caps and hats whenever occasion calls. Many of them are illustrated in picture 399 (2-12). The head-dress gives greater dignity to its wearer in popular esteem when worn slightly slanting, 'khāgī', a feature which further east has stamped a person so wearing it as a fop, 'bākā'. Among these classes the 'dupaṭṭā' which replaces 'kheslā' as the scarf, is an invariable accompaniment, a particularly coveted variety of it being named 'viramo'. It is either held gathered carelessly under the arm-pit or worn round the neck in such a manner that both its ends hang in front, or tied round the waist partially so that the loose end can easily go under the seat while riding. That is the reason why the 'dupaṭṭā' is known as 'kamarband', waist-band in some parts of Rājasthān. It is also known by another name which is almost universal in Marathi, viz. 'uparṇi'. One peculiarity of the Rājasthāni male dress is that many times with the 'pāgri' is worn a kerchief, appropriately called 'rumāl', which is wound round the turban and the chin or the neck.

The ordinary dress of ladies consisted of three items (328, 329). For the lower part of the body the 'ghāgrā' or 'lahaṅgā', skirt, which used to be rather full having many vertical pleats, worn rather below the navel, was almost universal. Formerly, it used to be made of triangular pieces and was known as 'kaḷidāra', each triangular piece being like the bud of a flower. As each piece, a number of which were sewn together to form the 'ghāgrā', was very much wider at the lower end than at the string-edge the skirt had a natural flare at the lower end. But pleating could be only rudimentary. When the make-up of the garment was changed so that a rectangular piece of sufficient length or a number of rectangular pieces sewn together would suffice for it, vertical gathers or pleats could be provided to the wearer's heart's content. And it is this type of 'ghāgrā', skirt, that is famed in the folk-literature of Rājasthān as 'ghera ghumāḷo' or spaciously sinuous. It was not infrequently worked upon with artistry which is referred to in folk-songs. We are informed that such a 'ghāgrā' easily requires as much as twenty yards of material. Higher class ladies when going out wear over the skirt centrally in front a narrow piece of cloth, different in colour and ornamentation from that of the 'ghāgrā'. It is called 'phetia, and indicates that the wearer is a lady whose husband is alive. Its presence in the Rajput and some of the Gujarati paintings establishes its antiquity.

The upper part of the body is first clothed by the open-backed backfastening bodice called 'kācaḷi' or 'kācavo'. Folk-literature, however, refers to what would

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appear to be the other variety of breast-garment, the tight-fitting bodice seen in some of the Rajput paintings, in its praise of saffron-coloured 'coli'. That this piece had artistry lavished on it is clear from folk-songs.

The third piece of attire is the scarf, or the veil called 'oḍhani', the piece that is to be drawn over, its purpose being that of an extinguisher and a cover. It used to be a fairly small piece of cloth measuring only about four and a half feet by about seven and a half and could hardly enable the wearer to form any pleats for tucking in. One end of it was simply tucked in at the navel or the waist and the remaining portion drawn over the left side to the back where it ascended the head. The other end dangling from over the head was either brought under the right arm-pit and tucked into the bodice over the bosom or into the 'ghāgrā' at the left waist. The fondness of Rājasthāni ladies for borders to their garments, which as we have seen was a trait displayed in Rajput paintings, is reflected in the number of words for this item, though the feature was confined mostly to the scarf. Thus we have, 'kora', 'lāga', 'magaji', 'goṭā', 'kiraṇa', and even 'kinori' which has linguistic affinities further afield.

In folk-literature the scarf is lovingly referred to as the most coveted piece of apparel by different names according to the colour, quality or provenance of the special type. The most usual name is 'cunaḍī', which is spoken of as the mark of a woman's continued married state. It is not put off even when the husband is away from home. A particular variety of the scarf very much in evidence in the Hindu month of Śrāvaṇa has given its name to a whole folk-song which sings its praise. It is called 'lahariyo', or 'lahasyo', an appellation which is significant because the garment, being parti-coloured in zigzag, presents the aspect of ripples. Other names of the article are 'pomaco', 'pīḷo' and 'kasumbo'. The appellation 'ciṇoṭiyo' reminds one of its origin being some kind of China silk. It is called 'sāḷū' particularly if it is from Sāṇgāner. Very high up in favour next to 'cunaḍi' and 'lahariyo' is the reference to the scarf simply as 'dakhṇī cīra' or even merely as 'dakhṇā', evincing Rājasthān ladies' partiality for a particular kind of cloth from the Deccan. We shall meet with this partiality further south and east too.

It is an established custom in large tracts of Northern India for young ladies to cover their faces before certain older males. Rājasthān is not only no exception to it but appears to practise the custom in an exaggerated form. We know that in ancient India married ladies used to utilize their scarf to draw it over the head and

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the face; and it was significantly known in Samskṛt as the 'nīraṅgi', something that renders the wearer as without limbs. The Indo-Aryan word that does the work of the Samskṛt term 'nīraṅgi' is 'ghuṅgaṭ', it being common to Rājasthāni, Gujarāti and Hindi, and is even known in dialectical Marāṭhi though not as a name for the same article, thing or idea. In Rājasthāni folk-lore it is not uncommon to convey the strength of a lady's sense of modesty by reference to the length of the cloth drawn out from over the head in front of the face. In one song a lady's sense of modesty is conveyed through the description of her 'ghuṅgaṭ' being one yard in length.

Ladies of some of the higher classes wear overall a white sheet, called 'thirmā', when going out.[3]

European contact of the last century proved creatively fruitful in Rājasthān in a special garment. The Jodhpur breeches, or simply 'Jodhpurs', which are so famous now, were developed by the nobility of Rājasthān during the eighties of the last century.[4] They are properly described as a combination of the 'cuḍidāra' pyjama with riding breeches and military overalls. They are close-fitting below the knees and rest at the feet without folds or a strap. The short coat with standing and closed collar going with them appears also to be the special adaptation of the European coat connected with their development. In the makes of female dress the standard change is the only modification. The scarf became much bigger and assumed the appearance of a 'sāri' with a few front pleats. The 'kācaḷī' gave way to the European blouse-type of 'coli'.

We have learnt that the costume of Saurāṣṭra differed from that of Gujarāt in older days, though its affinities with that of Rājasthān or any other area are not attested for that age. The costume of Saurāṣṭra and Kacch of recent times, however, reveals its close affinity with that of Rājasthān in spite of its peculiarities. These peculiarities are not the features which it has in common with the costume of Gujarat but all its own. There are features, too, which the costume of upper class Saurastrians shares in common with that of the upper classes of Gujarat.

Both in Saurāṣṭra and Kacch, males (330-334), with the exception of some of the upper classes, wore a type of trousers very much like the 'cuḍidāra' pyjama of Rājasthān and is called 'coraṇo' or 'survāla'. It is rather loose above the knees and close-fitting below. In the case of classes of Rajput affiliation the portion below the knees was seen to lie in a number of horizontal folds. Among agricultural and labouring classes the short coat, called 'pāsābandhi keḍiyũ', because it was fastened

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with strings for buttons, clothed the upper part of the body. Its peculiarity lay in this that its portion below the chest was like that of the female skirt made in a number of vertical gathers. It thus had a distinct skirt of its own. Its sleeves were generally long and tapering. Pictures 91 and 93 will establish its affinities with early foreign pieces of attire. The Rajput-like classes wore some kind of under-jacket and a long or short coat with wider sleeves over it. They had further two loose pieces of cloth, plain or bordered. One of them was always wound over the trousers at the waist in a manner peculiar to Saurāṣṭra and Kacch and reminiscent of the attire of the wooden image of the donor of the stupa at Mirpurkhas in Sindh of about the 5th century A.D. The garment is spread out so that when worn over the trousers, at the back it reaches to somewhere about the calves, and in the front, the two ends being drawn up, their edges contain a triangular shape from below the mid-thighs. This open triangle thus revealed not only the trousers but also the lower part of the garment hanging from behind. The garment thus disposed was held at the waist by a band, which was generally decorated in a variety of ways. The other loose cloth was commonly rolled up negligently and held under the arm-pit. The headgear was provided by a voluminous and loosely rolled turban. The shapes of some of the turbans were like those of the Rājasthāni ones, while of others were peculiar to these areas (399(13-22)). Brahmins, some Banias and others donned the 'dhoti' instead of the trousers; and the 'dhoti' was more commonly worn in such a manner that the smaller portion, whose one end was drawn up behind and tucked in there, came from the right side, while the front pleats tucked in at the navel were formed out of the portion from the left side. It appears that this was also the more general mode of wearing the 'dhoti' for ordinary use in Gujarat, particularly among classes other than Brahmins. The two other pieces of apparel, the long coat and the shoulder-cloth, the 'dupaṭṭā' which these classes sported were also like those of the similar classes of Gujarat. They either wore pre-formed turbans called 'pāghaḍi' or a turban that was folded afresh every time it was worn and was known as 'phẽṭo'. The 'phẽṭo' appears to have been common in Gujarat, too, but not the same shapes of pre-formed turbans.

It deserves to be noted that as a folk-song has it, a 'pāghaḍi' or turban is the ornament of a male. A nine-coloured 'pāghaḍi' is a choice present. The long 'jāmā'-fashion coat is referred to as 'vāgho'.

Women of the agricultural and labouring classes (335-336) generally wore a squarish piece of thick material reddish or dark brown in colour in the 'lungi' fashion

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without forming any pleats. As a matter of fact the piece was just sufficient to go round and flap over one of the two ends. The bosom was covered by the back-fastening open-backed bodice, whose sleeves reached the elbows or a little beyond them. It fell a few inches below the bosom and covered the upper part of the abdomen. It was known as 'kamkho', 'kācavo' or 'Kācaḷī'. The 'lungi' being worn just below the navel, a strip of the abdomen above the navel was exposed. This portion was hardly attempted to be covered among these classes by the third invariable piece of attire, the 'oḍhṇi' as it is usually known in Gujarati but often called 'corso' in Kacch and perhaps in Saurāṣṭra too. This scarf or veil, for it was used as an extinguisher of the face with the 'ghunghaṭ' when occasion demanded it, was thrown over the head and the back, one end being tucked in at the waist and the other either allowed to come over the right shoulder and rest on the bosom or tucked into the bodice.

The dress of ladies of the Rajput and allied classes differed most markedly in the lower garment, which was formed by the rather full skirt, which is described in the sources of information as either twelve cubits round or as requiring as much as twenty yards of material. Ladies of Brahmin and other classes, too, put on the skirt, called 'ghāgro'. In the folk-literature of Saurāṣṭra, a skirt, spaciously sinuous or 'phulphagarano ghāgro', like that of Rajasthan is covetingly referred to. Another much desired variety of the skirt is known as the 'pācpaṭāno ghāgro' and is common to both Saurāṣṭra and Gujarat. It is made up of five different pieces varying in colour. The scarf or veil, too, was a longer and better type of garment, on which folk-literature has lavished much energy in describing different varieties and their peculiar charm. It appears that the greater length of this garment was purposely selected as not infrequently a few pleats, 'pāṭli', were formed and tucked in at the navel, before the remainder was employed to cover the head, the back and the abdomen. It was, that is to say, used as a 'sāri'. When of sufficient length it was therefore called 'sāḍi', a word, which both in Gujarati, and Marathi and some other Indo-Aryan languages, denotes the full-length garment which by itself suffices to cover both the lower as well as the upper part of the female body in one sweep. Though this 'sāri' was always used in Saurāṣṭra only in combination with the 'ghāgro' yet sometimes in the folk-songs a reference to a piece of apparel, which could be used by itself to cover the whole body, as a 'sixteen yards long sāri' is made. Not only the most coveted but also the most auspicious kind of 'oḍhnī', scarf, is the 'cundaḍī', which is also called 'coḷa cundaḍī' because, it appears, it was an invariable piece of the bridal attire. At least there are two whole songs based on 'cundaḍī', which, as suggested therein, is a garment enhancing the female charms.

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The 'cundaḍī' is desired to be coloured in nine or even one hundred colours, 'navaraṅga cundaḍī' or 'soraṅga cundaḍī'. It is even treated pet-wise and referred to in the diminutive form as 'cundaḍalī'. Another variety of scarf, only second to the 'cundaḍī' in general esteem, was called 'leriyũ', which is evidently the same item of apparel as the Rajasthani 'lahariyo'. It is celebrated in a whole song of great pathos styled 'leriyāni luṭālūṭa'. The splendour of this garment is lovingly dwelt upon and special varieties of it from different localities are particularly noted. Famous 'cundaḍī's came from Cital, Nawanagar, Junagadh, Ahmedabad, and Surat. Some varieties of the scarf were known as 'sāḷu' and 'cīra'. 'Dakhaṇīnā cīra', 'cloth from the Deccan', is referred to at least twice in the folk-songs. Once a lady whose married daughter is on the eve of her departure to her husband's is represented as putting on the 'dakhaṇinā cīra' in order to give a proper send off to her.

Though the colourfulness, splendour and charm of the scarf as 'cundaḍī' or as another kind of garment are mentioned quite frequently, reference to its border, either as a splendorous item or even as an ordinary one, is very rare. When the border is mentioned at all it is called 'lāka'. Though the scarf is auspicious and prized, the piece of attire that was considered as the ornament of a woman was the bodice, 'kācaḷī', the open-backed back-fastening breast garment. The tailor is requested in a folk-song to decorate it, giving us a good idea of the kind of thing the finished product was. The strings with which the piece was fastened in its position were to be equipped with small jingles so that with each movement of the wearer of the bodice there would be jingling sound. Over the breast-portion were to be drawn peacocks which because of their colour added to the lustre of the garments. On the sleeves the picture of the wearer's sister was to be drawn, while at the side her co-wife, the hated woman, was to be portrayed. A brother, who wants to mollify his offended sister, presents her with a bodice, 'kamkho', of silk cloth and a sixteen yards long 'sāri', an idea which is reminiscent of the present of 'sāḍi', 'sāri', and 'coli', bodice or rather 'bodice-piece', which brothers in Marathi folk-literature are represented as presenting to their sisters.

In Gujarat, pyjama or trousers as the constituent of the male wardrobe was very much less in evidence than in Saurāṣṭra. The 'dhoti' worn in the manner described in Saurāṣṭra dress was by far the more common dress for the lower part of the body. Its tuckings in at the back were known as 'kācha' or 'kāchaḍī'. The word is cognate with the Marathi name for the same item, 'kāsa', both being derived from the Samskṛt word, 'kakṣā'. Brahmins it appears tended to conform to the Brahmanic

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injunction about the wearing of the 'dhoti' to this extent that they did not allow the breadthwise pleats–and they do not seem to have worn the 'dhoti' at all in the fashion of some of the North-Indian peoples, wherein the portion of the 'dhoti' remaining over in front after it has once gone round the waist is treated lengthwise–to dangle loosely at their feet. But they tucked in the pleats a second time at least to see that the loose ends did not dangle at their feet. It was known as 'dhotiyū', 'dhotar' or even 'potiyũ' and was understood to be a garment provided with its ornamental borders, a 'dhoti' without borders being called by a special name. Dress for the upper part of the body was provided by the old type of short coat-jacket, called either 'badan' or 'badiyān'. The latter word has evident affinities with the Marathi word 'baniyan' for the same piece of apparel. It was also known as 'caubagalā' because of its four fastenings. It was the double-breasted close garment fitting well at the neck and extending to the waist. Its upper flap was fastened at the left side. Its sleeves were narrow but not necessarily tapering and generally rested in few horizontal folds like bracelets. As we have seen, it was known in Northern and Western India, and was a garment of venerable antiquity, being portrayed in the paintings of Ajanta. As we shall see it was common over most of Indo-Aryan India as an item in the costume of the upper classes. On formal and ceremonial occasions males of the elite classes in Gujarat put on over it the long coat, called 'aṅgarkhā', 'vāgo', 'vāgho' and otherwise known as 'jāmā'. The headgear was provided by the pre-formed 'pāghaḍi', turban, or by the freshly folded one known as 'phẽṭo' or 'sāpho'. As in Saurāṣṭra, the turban, 'pāghaḍi', is declared to be an ornament of the male. A scarf, 'dupaṭṭā', 'pacheḍī', 'pichoḍī', 'uparaṇī', 'uparaṇũ', 'upavastra' or 'aṅgavastra' as it was variously known, completed the attire of a respectable male.

Gujarati ladies' costume varied much more than the male costume, that of the agricultural and labouring classes not being the same all over. The upper class ladies more or less uniformly used 'sāri' and not the 'oḍhṇī' or scarf of Saurāṣṭra (337-339). It was used in combination with the skirt. But this skirt was always fully under the 'sāri'. As it was not exposed to public view it was entirely an under-garment. I shall speak of it as the petticoat. That is why in the folk-literature of Gujarat the 'ghāgro' is hardly ever mentioned, at least not with the frequency or eclat with which it figures in the folk-songs of Saurāṣṭra. It is called 'caṇiyo', 'caraṇo'. The word is derived by good authorities from the Samskṛt, 'calanikā'. Though it was an under-garment, Gujarati ladies spent much thought and skill in making the garment, distinguishing various varieties of it. Mrs. Kapadia has dealt with these at some length. The 'sāri' was five yards in length and was always worn

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with a few front pleats, 'pāṭali'. One end of it was tucked in just at the left waist and the remaining portion was taken from over the back side to the right hip and drawn in front. Here a few pleats were formed with the portion continuous with that which reached the front. These pleats were either tucked in into the petticoat and the single wrapping of the 'sāri', which were then called 'oṭi', or tied into a knot and then called 'phẽṭa'. In either case one fails to notice any enthusiasm about the gathered bunch as some of the modern Indian languages have enshrined in the names they have reserved for that item. Disposing of the pleats in either way a small length of the 'sāri' is simply let fall in a crescent shape over the left hip and the remaining portion drawn behind and a part thereof placed over the head in such a manner that it covers the head and the back. The portion hanging over the back is either known as 'phaḍak' or 'soḍiyũ'. The remaining end is drawn over the right shoulder and is allowed to lie over the abdomen, generally with its left corner neatly tucked in at the left waist.

Thus one end of the 'sāri', the end which is exposed to the public view falls from over the right shoulder over the bosom and the abdomen and goes over to the left, leaving only the left hand fully free. The third piece of apparel was commonly the open-backed back-fastening breast garment like that of the Saurāṣṭra ladies and was called by its usual name, 'kācaḷī'. Elderly ladies, however, especially of the upper classes, put on the front-fastening bodice known as 'coḷi', the universal article of female attire among the Marathi-speaking ladies. The garment was evidently an exotic in Gujarat.

In a way the manner of wearing the 'dhoti' by the male, who forms the front pleats from the portion coming over from the left, and the 'sāri' by the female seem to be in harmony. It is also the common mode of wearing the 'sāri' in Northern India, where too as we shall see a part of it is always rested over the head so as to cover it. In Rājasthān and Saurāṣṭra where the 'oḍhṇī', scarf, is long enough, as among the upper classes, it too is worn in identical manner, the loose end of it coming over from the right shoulder and falling over the bosom and the abdomen. In Panjab and Sindh the wearing of 'sāri', when it came into fashion, was done in the same manner, so that this mode of wearing the 'sāri' may be declared to be North-Indian extending from Sindh on the west to the confines of Bengal in the east and from Kashmir in the north to somewhere below the Tāpi in the south. The showy breadthwise border in this mode of wearing the 'sāri' always lies in front.

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The portion of the 'sāri' resting on the head and its two sides are pressed into service for guarding modesty to such an extent that in Gujarati the portion of the 'sāri' which acts as the extinguisher is metaphorically called 'lāja' or 'modesty' itself. Thus a lady in a folk-song, finding that her father-in-law was sitting on the verandah abutting on her way, says after only a moment's hesitation that she will proceed on her way all the same and that the only thing she will do is to draw out the 'lāja', the extinguisher, rather long ('lambī tāṇiś lāja'). Usual names for the item are, 'ghūghaṭa', 'ghumaṭa', 'ghogho', 'saṇagaṭa'.

The 'sāri' sported by Gujarati ladies commonly has lengthwise ornamental borders. They are more often applied or printed after the 'sāri'-piece is cut and made ready than already woven into the garment before it is passed on as a 'sāri'. 'Kora' is the usual word for such a border but 'lāka' and 'goṭha' are not unknown. Though the feature seems to be an important one it has not achieved here the same significance as a classifier of a 'sāri' as it has, for example, in the Marathi-speaking region. There are a large number of words denoting various types of 'sāri's in Gujarati but among them there is only one which we are told depends on the particular kind of lengthwise borders. Mrs. Kapadia informs her readers that the word 'sāḷu' stands for a 'sāri' which is of cotton and coloured and ornamented with a particular border, and that therefore 'sāḷu' denotes a 'sāri' with a particular border. These borders of 'sari's which are drawn over the head seem to serve the function of framing the figure of the wearer. The broad end of the 'sāri' which rests on the abdomen is known as the 'pālava'. It is also known by the term 'padara' which is the common word for it in the Marathi language. This end too is generally richly or variegatedly decorated. But hardly any of the many terms for the different types of 'sāri's is entirely based on this feature. Nay even the feature itself has not received distinct names, as in Marathi, for its varieties. There are three names for three different types of 'sari's which, though they do not reflect the nature of the colour, or ornamentation of the ground of the lengthwise borders or the breadthwise border, yet denote a special variety with particular ornamentation. Thus 'selārī' was the name of a 'sāri' of silk material having worked-up lengthwise and breadthwise borders. 'Ghāṭapota' is a 'sāri' of silk whose ground may be of any colour but the lengthwise and breadthwise borders are black with white small spots in them. But the one 'sāri' which is unquestionably named because of its particular colour and ornamentation is the garment, called 'gharacoḷū' which has to be put on by the bride at the time of marriage. Its ground is red; and in the broad and long borders, which are many-coloured, there are white spots. Similarly, 'pānetar' is a silk-piece which is coloured red and

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has applied to it silver leaf for its lengthwise and breadthwise borders. It is also the bridal-dress among some castes.

It is interesting to note that the general word for a 'sāri' in Gujarat is 'lugaḍũ', which in its appropriate form of 'lugaḍẽ' is also the term by which the much longer female garment is known is Marathi, while 'sāḍi', which ordinarily in Marathi is only the more respectable term for the same garment occurring in such usual combinations as 'sāḍi-coḷī', denotes in Gujarati only the costly silk variety of the female garment. Exactly contrary is the usage among the two peoples of the word 'śālu'. While it stands for a costly silk female garment in Marathi, in Gujarati it means only a cotton 'sāri', which is not woven as a 'sāri' but is a piece cut out from a longer one and then made into a 'sāri' by applying a border etc. In the songs of Gujarat the 'dakhṇina cīrā' is represented as the proper present either to a married woman's mother-in-law or to her husband's elder brother's wife.

Most names of the 'sāri' appear to be based upon the nature of the material and the colour and ornamentation of its ground. Thus we have the all-famous 'cundaḍī', which is otherwise known also as 'bāndhaṇī' and 'ghāṭaḍī', 'pomaco' and 'chidaḍī' not being very different from these. But its place as the mark of a woman's continued married state is taken by another garment called 'nagariyũ', whose ground is red and border black with some decoration therein. Similarly though 'laheriyũ', with its wave-like variegation is there,—even in Mahārāṣṭra in its north-east portion this garment under the same name appropriately modified is known —it does not evoke enough enthusiasm to be immortalized in a folk-song. Other names are 'chāyala', 'gāḷā', 'gavana', 'magiyā', 'bhamariyũ', 'pāmarī', 'paṭolũ', 'pophaḷiyũ', 'kasūmbo' and 'vasantiyũ'. There are two terms for two varieties of the 'sāri' which from a comparative viewpoint are interesting but whose specification is not available; for those varieties as Mrs. Kapadia says are not very common nowadays. They are 'gaṇḍeriyā' and 'āsāvaḷī'. We shall meet with these words in the sartorial vocabulary of Marathi ladies as the names of saris with specific ornamentation of their borders, either the lengthwise or the breadthwise. The most famous female garment among the Mahārāṣṭrian ladies is the 'kāḷī candrakaḷā'. It occupies the place which 'cundaḍī' holds in Saurāṣṭra and Rājasthān. And it is indicative of the likeness of the cultural complexes of Gujarat and of Mahārāṣṭra that the word 'candrakaḷā' should in Gujarati too denote one variety of female garment. But the similarity stops far short of homogeneity or even real affinity, a phenomenon which may indicate recent differentiation. The Gujarati 'candrakaḷā' may be of any colour and its

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border may be an applied work of either cotton or of silver thread etc. Its speciality would appear to be the fact of the border having specific varieties of decoration, one of which is formed by small figures of mangoes. The Mahārāṣṭrian garment of that name can be only black or red in colour with only two kinds of borders, which are not specially distinguished from those current in other 'sāri's.

In South Gujarat the Rajput, agricultural and labouring class ladies, whether they put on the 'sāri' by itself or in combination with the petticoat, generally draw the front lower end between the legs at the back and tuck it spread out into the back upper edge of the garment, presenting from behind the appearance that is seen in the lady with her back to the observer in picture 48.

With the British contact, a slow but steady change comparable in the dress of males with that in the other parts like Mahārāṣṭra came over in Gujarat too. The describer of the dress of Gujarat population in the Bombay Gazetteers notes at the beginning of the twentieth century that though the old long coat called the 'jāmā' was a usual item of respectable dress till about A.D. 1870, by his time it had almost disappeared and at best was confined to a few elderly 'bania's, (traders). Its place was generally taken by the new long coat which was fashioned after the European coat and was known as the 'pharsi' fashion coat. Its collar was closed more or less but was always down. The coat was held in position by five or six buttons, sewed centrally in front. It generally reached the mid-thighs. The 'ṭopi', cap, as the head-dress of the younger generation had established itself almost about the same time, though as Mrs. Kapadia has pointed out cap as a headgear is attested earlier in some of the Gujarati paintings.[5] Ladies' costume registered two changes during the same period. For the bust the 'kācaḷī' more and more was superseded by 'colī', which itself underwent so radical a change that Mrs. Kapadia writing in 1939 describes under 'coli' mostly those forms of the garment which were immediately or remotely derived from the European blouse. The old 'coli', so characteristic of the Marathi region and already referred to in Prakṛt and Samskṛt literatures, covered only about half the length of the back and was tied in front just beneath the breasts in the middle by a knot made with the edges of the two panels. This garment was replaced by the blouse-derivative to such an extent that Mrs. Kapadia speaks of the old 'coli' entirely as the breast-garment of Mahārāṣṭrian ladies. The other change tended to displace the 'sāri' from the head. More and more ladies tended, especially the younger ones, not to draw the 'sāri' over the head but to drop it directly from over the back to the right shoulder. Whether or not the change in the nature of the breast-garment

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connoted any modification in the sentiment of modesty, the new mode of wearing the 'sari' assumes that there are no occasions, or hardly any, when a lady must make a veil-like extinguisher over her face. With the intake of the European culture, social usages, here those connected with kinship, changed somewhat.

The next region that claims our attention is the Hindi-Bihari area, which is the heart of India. It stretches from a little beyond Mathura in the west to the river Kosi in the east and from Delhi in the north to the river Narmadā in the south. It comprises the political divisions of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Central India Agency, some districts of the Central Provinces and a very large part of Bihar. The area thus demarcated does not correspond with any of the well-known divisions referred to in ancient literature. It is very much wider than the midland or the Madhyadeśa, made famous by repeated reference in the Dharma literature of the Hindus as the cradle and centre of their moral culture. The eastern limit of the midland was fixed at Allahabad, which excluded the whole of Bihar from it. Nor does it correspond with the region known as Āryāvarta in the old literature, as the latter was a much bigger one, including within it Bengal on the east and Rājasthān and beyond on the west. We find the costume of this region more or less of one type, with the usual mixed areas on the frontiers and a tendency towards the east to approximate to the predominant dress of the area beyond its confines.

The most common lower wear for males in this region was the 'dhoti' which was worn more or less in the same manner as further south by Brahmins and other high castes but not by others. The front pleats were formed from the portion of the 'dhoti' that came over from the right side; but whereas the higher castes from the western and central parts tucked up the pleats further, those in the eastern area let them dangle at the feet without being further tucked. This latter mode of sporting the 'dhoti' not only was the prevalent method as we have seen in the western area in Moghul and Rajput times but also has been the only manner in which it has been worn in Bengal, even by Brahmin and allied castes. Another mode of wearing the garment, which was and is prevalent among the pastoral, artizan and agricultural classes, is to tuck the left-side end drawn up at the back without pleating it and to take up the portion coming from the right side lengthwise and rolling it up to wrap it round the loins once and at the front to from a knot with the remaining portion allowing a small length of the rolled-up end to dangle about in the centre. This manner of wearing the 'dhoti' was known in regions outside the one I am describing but was always looked down upon as the way of fops or of low persons.

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We have known from pictorial evidence that the mode of disposing of the surplus portion of the 'dhoti' lengthwise was prevalent in the region under description at least for three or four centuries from the beginning of the Christian era or from two centuries before it. It does not seem to have been prevalent in recent times east of Allahabad. In the central and western parts of the region the surplus portion of the 'dhoti' in front, among the non-Brahmanic classes, may come from the right side or the left indifferently. It is again a characteristic of the sartorial unity of this region that the word 'dhoti' denotes not only the male lower garment but also the female one, though its dictionary meaning makes it only the lower garment used by ladies. The hind-tucking is known in Hindi as 'kācha' or 'kaccha' and the front-pleats as 'cunan'. The pyjama was not only known and sported by classes of Rajput affiliation (348,349) and was an item of elite dress on formal and ceremonial occasions but also was distinguished into a number of varieties. The 'cuḍidāra pyjamā' was the same piece of apparel as we came across further west in Rājasthān. The other variety called the 'boradāra pyjama', unlike the first, did not taper below the knees but kept the same breadth as above them. Pyjama was otherwise known as 'suravāla' or 'suravāra'. Among the lower classes it was rather rare and almost unknown towards the east (340, 341).

The garment that clothed the upper part of the male body was called 'kurtā' or 'kuḍtā', (339, 340, 344) a name prevalent also further west, which at least in one form could be and was used to cover the female upper part of the body and was then given a feminine form as 'kurti' or 'kuḍti'. 'Kuḍtā' is a kind of shirt or tunic with long, half or no sleeves, passed into its position over the head by the wearer and buttoned up centrally on the chest. It is known further south as either 'pairaṇ', 'paheraṇ' or 'sadarā'. In Hindi lexicon the feminine form of the last word, 'sadri', is only given as the name of the female garment with half sleeves and is known in the eastern area as 'salūkā' (345). Another variety of this male garment, more attested in the eastern area than elsewhere, was kept in position by a fastening arrangement on one side of the chest, either by tapes and strings or some kind of buttons. I think this is the garment that is denoted by the term 'capkan' which is used very frequently in the descriptions of the male costume of Bihar, though the Hindi lexical authority gives it as the equivalent of the long coat, 'ackan'. A variety of the 'kuḍtā' with half sleeves was the 'nimā' of the usual combination 'jāmā-nimā'. We have come across this piece of apparel on the body of the portrait of the Kuṣāṇa king Kaniṣka and see it best illustrated on some of the famous Bengalis of the

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British period. Over this the elite, on all formal occasions, would put on the traditional long coat, common over most of the Indo-Aryan area with very minor differences, fastened with strings or tapes at the sides (348, 349, 351). It was a larger edition of a shorter piece of apparel (342, 350) and like it fitted the upper part of the body rather close. Below the ribs it proceeded lower as a skirt with gathers and reached the mid-thighs or the knees. The sleeves were long and tapering resting over the arms in circular folds. The Hindus wore the upper flap of the garment fastened at the left side. Evidently the propaganda of Akbar in favour of the Muslim and the Central Asian mode of wearing the upper flap fastened at the right side had no effect with his Hindu subjects. It is usually known as 'aṅgarakhā', 'ackan', or 'jāmā'. Another variation of this garment was open in front and was more common as a substitute for 'ackan' further east. It was even longer than 'ackan' as it generally descended below the knees and was worn in the western part as an overall garment. It is called 'cogā', 'ḍaglā', 'labādā', or 'abā' in the central and western areas but 'kabā' in the eastern portion. Readers will recall to mind the overcoat on Kaniṣka's statue which is open-fronted throughout. In fact the ensemble of 'capkan' and 'cogā', 'abā' or kabā' represents the replica of Kuṣāṇa dress as it appears on the statues of the kings of that dynasty.

For ordinary wear from one end to the other in this region, however, the common upper garment was the 'bagalbandi' or the short close-fitting coat with double flap, the upper being tied at the left side (342, 350). Generally two pairs of tapes or strings on each side held the flaps. It reached upto the waist and had tapering full sleeves which formed a few circular folds on the arms. A variant of it was fastened with a pair of strings centrally at the lower end of the chest and was much more common with artizans, agriculturists and labourers (340, 341, 343). It was also known as 'mirjāi', the word being almost invariably the only term used to denote this garment, in the south-eastern and eastern parts of the region. The sleeveless variety of it, known as 'baṇḍī', 'phatui' or 'phatoi' was favoured by large sections of lower class males and females too.

All the three types of the head-dress that we have come across were prevalent. But the cap, almost always white, which rested on the heads of people from the more westernly districts (339, 340, 341), was not only different from the caps of other regions but also was the same as decked the heads of people in Mithilā (344). This is the headgear known in Bombay formerly as the 'Bhayyā-cap' and is believed to be the prototype of the present 'Gandhi cap', though it is not identical with it.

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This cap becomes rarer in the southern parts of the region. The earliest authentic and unmistakable representation of it occurs in the Ajanta paintings. A cap of equal antiquity but of much greater ubiquity in India and of Western and Central Asian affinity is a long conical headgear, perhaps represented in the dress of the male in picture 350. Its name occurs as the designation of both this form of head-dress as well as of another of perhaps greater antiquity. Thus 'kulahī' means a cap long enough to cover the ears, used by children, while 'kulahā' means a cap and 'kulāha', a variety of high cap. In the last we recognise the same item of attire as is denoted by 'kullah' or 'kullai' which figures on the heads of some Pallava and other South Indian kings. The second type was the loose piece of cloth, big or small according to the economic condition and social status of the party, freshly folded on the head and called 'phēṭā', 'sāphā', 'muṇḍāsā' or 'mureṭhā' (348, 342, 343, 340). Among some of the peoples of the eastern districts it was so arranged that it served the double purpose of a turban and a scarf. It is known as 'gamchā' and appears to be a derivative of 'aṅgocchā', the scarf. 'Aṅgocchā' is the Prākṛt form of the Samskṛt compound word 'aṅgavastra', 'cloth for the body', which appears further to be dialectically transformed into 'gamchā'. 'Pāg', 'pāgaṛi' or pre-folded turban forms the third type of head-dress (349, 351). It resembles that of Rājasthān in the western and south-western districts of the region. In the eastern part the turban (346) is simpler and seems to resemble some types of Rājasthāni turbans and also one variety of turbans sported in the Marathi region. The turban of the last affinity met with in Central India Agency and the northern districts of the Central Provinces is an introduction by the Marathas and as such is an exotic in that region. In the eastern part of the region under description there has been observable a tendency to go bare-headed too (347). Perhaps there, the squat round turban, illustrated as the head-dress of the image of one of the Kuṣāṇa kings, the squatting figure in picture 88, and also to be met with on the heads of famous Bengalis like Ram Mohun Roy and Gurudas Banerjee, was in evidence.

Respectable male dress was hardly considered to be complete without a scarf (343, 346, 348, 349, 351, 347, 339). So much was this the prevailing sentiment that as we saw above the poorer sections of peoples in the eastern parts required their head-gear to do service as a scarf too. Scarf is 'aṅgochā', 'dupaṭṭā', the word common for this garment in most Indo–Aryan areas, 'cādara', or 'caddara', a word not unknown but more often confined in its usual connotation to the female scarf, or 'uparaṇā', 'uparaiṇā', a term familiar to the Gujaratis and Marathis or again, 'pichaura'. Hindi appears to be the only language which has enshrined a particular mode of putting on

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the scarf, perhaps the most favourite one in bygone times, in the lexical expression 'kākhāsoṭī'. It refers to the manner of throwing the scarf over the left shoulder and under the right arm in the standard way of wearing the Brahmanic sacred thread (342, 344). In Samskṛt this mode of wearing the scarf was known as 'vaikakṣa'. Its derivation, too, appears palpably sure, if we compare the Marathi word 'kākha' meaning arm-pit, derived from the Samskṛt word 'kakṣā'. The scarf in some forms of elite dress could be worn as a waist-band (348) and was then known as 'paṭakā' or 'paṭukā'.

Though the Hindi lexicon lists the term 'kaḷidāra pyjama' under the word 'pājāmā' as a particular variety of it sported by women I have not come across positive evidence of that piece of apparel having been a fairly common garment to clothe the lower part of the female body in this region of India. The skirt, for which the most usual term here is 'lahaṅgā', was the garment for the lower part (348, 349, 350). It should be noted that the small piece of cloth worn by Munda girls is called 'lahaṅgā' in Munda language rather than 'ghāghrā', which is very frequently mentioned as the proper garment for females. A proverb, which is a skit on the incongruous nature of woman in respect of attire, refers to an old dilapidated woman, desiring to be fashionable by wearing the skirt but not being able to afford a proper one, turns her mat into her skirt and thus invites attention through the ludicrous ensemble. 'Ghāgrā' had plenty of gathers and was or was not sewn-up down the front. The variety not sewn-up was called 'phariyā'. Though ladies of upper caste all over the region in recent times have worn only the 'sāri' which more often than not is called 'dhoti', the general name for the male lower garment, there is pictorial evidence for some of the districts of Bihar (348, 349, 350) and traditional knowledge for many parts of the central and eastern districts of the region substantiating the use of the skirt by females during about a hundred years of the British dominion over this land. At Mathurā, Allahabad and Banaras the prevailing practice during the last half a century or so for ladies of high caste has been to wear the 'dhoti' of five or six yards length (351). At both the places the bridal dress used to consist of a skirt, a 'sāri' and a scarf, 'oḍhaṇī'. At Mathurā information was vouchsafed that till about forty years back high caste ladies of Mathura and the region round about used to put on a skirt, 'lahaṅgā', made out of four yards of material. The costume of some Bihari ladies illustrated in Martin's *Eastern India*, which is valid evidence for the beginning of the 19th century, and is reproduced in pictures 348 to 351, indicates that the wear of skirt or 'dhoti' had variations, each being quite in style in its own season. Among the lower classes the full-gathered skirt has been

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much more common in the western and the south-western areas, contiguous to Rājasthān, the province of 'ghāgrā' par excellence. Women of these castes and Rajput-like ones of villages round about Mathura and Gwalior have sported skirts which required anything from eight to twenty yards of material. Further east though this garment was the common wear among Rajput-like castes and Kahārs yet it does not appear to have been of the same voluminous dimensions. The loose piece of garment always worn in combination with this skirt, though called 'oḍhaṇī', 'dhoti' or 'sāri' indifferently, was always a garment of bigger dimensions characteristic of a 'sāri' rather than of a scarf. It was five or six yards in length. Though the much longer garment measuring about nine yards, favoured in Mahārāṣṭra and in most of Southern India, was not worn in this region, it is intriguing to find in the lexicon the word 'gaṇgāsāgara', which raises a presumption about its prevalence, as it denotes printed cloth for females generally seventeen to eighteen hands in length. In parts of Central India and in such districts of the Central Provinces as Saugor, Jubbulpore etc. women of the working classes do not wear the loose 'sāri' along with their skirt, but draw up the front lower end of the skirt between the legs to the back and tuck it there spread out, a characteristic mode of wear of lower garment met with in south Gujarat.

There is a distinction between a 'dhoti' and a 'sāri'. At times it appears to lie in the colour of the garment, the 'dhoti' being more white than any other colour. But the real difference lies in the fact that a 'sāri, 'sāḍi' or 'sāḍhi' has invariably the breadthwise border known as 'palā' or 'pallā', while the 'dhoti' has none of its kind. When the breadthwise border is of silver-thread embroidery it is known in Hindi as 'jhalābora'. There were two ways in which it could be fastened at the waist. Either a part of the pleated portion of the 'sāri' was tucked into the wrap at the waist or into the edge of the skirt or a small knot was formed and fastened in position with a piece of string. Both these modes of wearing the 'sāri' are met with in Rajput paintings. As we have seen when the 'sāri' pleats were fastened into a knot the wearer had an additional field for the use of the ornamental pompons which were so stylish in their age. And it is interesting to note that whether the Hindi ladies of recent times added the decoration of pompons or not they were enthusiastic about the knot itself as an added item of beautification. In a folk-song sung at Kāyastha marriages by the assembled ladies the knot of the 'sāri' of the bride is admired and compared to a round lime. This imagery about the 'sāri'-knot likening it to some fruit, as we shall see later, is common not only in Marathi but also in Telugu, Tamil and Kannada. In either case, and whether it was the 'dhoti', 'sāri' or the 'oḍhṇi'

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that was worn it came from the left hip up the back and over the head, the free end falling on the bosom from over the right shoulder (345). The portion over the head is used as the face extinguisher or veil whenever necessary. It is rather remarkable that in the eastern districts, when the 'sāri' or 'dhoti' is not long enough an additional separate piece of cloth is tucked in at the front centre and is known as 'tahamand' or 'tahamat'. It appears to be the representative of the old item of attire which accompanied some Rajput skirts and was called 'paṭkā' or 'paṭukā'.

Montgomery Martin, summarizing the information available at the beginning of the 19th century about the sartorial habits and history of the people of Bihar, informs us that the ensemble of skirt and short tunic (bodice), 'lahaṅgā' and 'kurtā', was the usual dress of only about one-fourth of the ladies. The remaining vast majority dressed themselves in one 'sāri', the bodice being not much in evidence. He further opines that the skirt and bodice dress was a more recent introduction from the western part of India, the original and native costume of Bihari ladies being the 'sāri'[6].

The tucking of the 'dhoti' or 'sāri' is called in Hindi 'āṭā' or 'āṭī', the pleats are 'cunan'; the tucked in portion of the pleats is known either as 'kochī', 'phubati', 'tini' or 'nibi' and the knot of the pleats as either 'nibi' or 'phaphũdi', 'phuphādi'. Readers need hardly be told that 'nibi' is the Samskṛt word 'nīvi', which denoted the identical item of sartorial ensemble. While the etymology and the original meaning of 'kochi' is plain enough, being cognate with a root connoting tucking, those of 'phubati', 'tini' and 'phaphũdi' are obscure, though both 'phubati' and 'phaphũdi' would appear to have some connection with the Gujarati word 'phẽṭa', meaning the knot of the 'sāri' pleats. The 'sāri' portion resting on the shoulders is 'kandhelā', and that on the head is 'muḍahara', both showing their origin from the name of the respective part of the body. The drawn out veil and extinguisher is known by the common name of 'ghuṅghaṭ', 'ghũghaṭ' as well as by a new term, 'nakāba'. The end of the 'sāri' resting over the bosom and the abdomen is variously named as 'ācara', 'ācala', 'khõicā', 'kocha', 'pallā' or 'goda'. The last two words are used in Gujarati too, the first in an identical context and the second in a slightly modified sense. 'Khõicā' and 'kocha' refer to the fact of the end being tucked in at the waist. The terms 'ācara' and 'ācala' are the same as the Samskṛt 'añcala', which means the dangling end. The word 'siravā' listed in the lexicon as denoting the broad end of a garment is of special interest, if it applies to the breadthwise border and that portion of the 'sāri' or 'dhoti', in view of the fact that the Kannada word for that portion of the

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'sāri' is 'seragu'. The Marathi word for it is 'padara', which is also known in Gujarati. The lengthwise border as in Gujarat and Rājasthān has many names. 'Kanni' would appear to be the most favourite and frequent name of the border, others being, 'avaṭha' and 'haśiyā'. Others like 'kora', 'goṭa', and 'magji' are also known from Rājasthān and Gujarat, while 'kinārī' and its variants are prevalent in Gujarat and Mahārāṣṭra too. The usual Marathi word for this feature of the 'sāri' is 'dhārī', and appears to be known in Hindi, though the lexicon does not list it.

Though the words 'lugrā' and 'lūgaḍ' denote either cloth or garment in general and only the scarf, 'oḍhṇī', and 'cādara' in particular, 'lugi', which is evidently cognate with 'lugḍā' means not only cloth or garment but also 'dhoti'. Thus we may add the Hindi area to the Gujarati and Marathi ones which recognise 'lugḍā' as the generic term for the lower garment of females. The famous 'cunarī' or 'cundarī' as the most covetable piece of female attire finds its place in the mirror of the folk-mind, the folk-songs in Hindi as well as those in Maithili. In both it figures as the garment marked out as a present to a female, whether it is the husband who is intent on humouring his wife or the brother of a woman who has to make a customary present to her mother-in-law and such other relations. In a Hindi folk-song the 'cunari' is further particularized in the Rājasthāni fashion as 'five-coloured.' Its great period is of course in the early part of the lunar month of Śrāvaṇa when newly married ladies return to their parents' home and indulge in the joyous festival of the swing. Another prized variety of the 'sāri' particularly in the central and western parts of our region was the 'piyarī' or the 'pīlī dhotī', yellow 'dhoti'. In the eastern part a red-coloured 'sāri' with a particular type of border and manufactured in the western area, to which the singer of Maithili songs looks up as the proper region to visit, is begged for in one folk-song. In both the linguistic groups 'dakkhinkā cīra' or 'dachin cīra' is prized for particular purposes. In the Maithili area the cloth is further specified as that from Madras. Though another variety of 'sāri' prized in other areas and famed in a Saurāṣṭra folk-song, 'lahariyā', does not secure any mention in the available folk-songs in Hindi it is listed in the lexicon and thus testifies to the universality of the taste of Indian ladies from Jodhpur to the river Kauśikī and from Delhi to Umarāvatī. 'Dāḍiyā' and 'chaḍidāra sāḍi' would appear to be but other names of a 'sāri' whose ground is ornamented in a zigzag pattern. Two other varieties listed in the lexicon, 'chāyala' and 'ambara', are also known in the Gujarati region. In the lexical list there are at least four words denoting 'sāri's with particular borders. Thus 'paṭorī' is a 'sāri' with silk-border, and 'gilaharā' one with large

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ones. The precise nature of the border which gave a 'sāri' the name of 'sītalapāṭī' is not given. 'Khajurchaḍī' is silk cloth with date-palm-leaf design in the border, while 'gulavadana' is silk cloth, either red or pink in colour, with zigzag ornamentation in the ground and the borders.

The principal garment clothing the upper part of the female body was the 'aṅgiyā', 'colī', 'kurti', or 'salūkā'. 'Aṅgiyā' is the Hindi name for the open-backed breast-piece covering the breast and fastened in position with two pairs of strings or tapes at the back. We have seen that it was the common breast garment in Rajasthan, Saurastra and Gujarat and is there known as either 'kācaḷī' or 'kācavā'. In Hindi though it is generally known as 'aṅgiyā' and sometimes called 'cautaniyā', the word 'kancuvā' too is met with. The 'coli' as in Mahārāṣṭra and Gujarat is the breast-piece which has a back, generally half, and also a front, which is formed by two panels. The garment is made fast by means of a knot fastened with the two flaps centrally just below the breasts. Both the 'aṅgiyā' and 'coli' are mentioned in Hindi folk-songs. The former, when intended for a special present, was ornamented with floral designs. The latter kind of garment made in Lucknow is specially prized in a Maithili folk-song. The portion of the 'coli' which covers the breasts is specifically known as 'kaṭorī'. In view of the fact that a particular cut of this garment much sported in Mahārāṣṭra by the prostitute-class is known there dialectically as 'kaṭorī coḷī', this word in Hindi claims special attention. Both these breast-pieces have sleeves generally reaching a little lower than the middle of the upper arm or even the elbows. 'Kurati' or 'kurti', on the other hand, is a sleeveless jacket-like breast-piece. It is longer than the other two garments and reaches the waist. It is held in position by buttons fixed centrally in front. 'Phaṭūhi' or 'phatoi', 'sadari' and 'salūkā' are given as its equivalents. Yet both 'sadari', 'salūkā' or 'jhulā' are garments with sleeves, so that in the lexicon itself 'salūkā' is described as a half-sleeved tunic worn by females. 'Salūkā' or 'sadri' becomes more common towards the central and eastern parts of the region.

Over all, respectable ladies wore a white 'cādara' or 'caddara', when going out. In some parts it is known as 'pichaurā'. The fact that the 'dhoti' or 'sāri' tends to be a white sheet towards the eastern and south-eastern parts of the region should be mentioned here in view of the fact that the Gond and similar other communities upto and inhabiting the districts of Palamau, Manbhum and Chattisgarh have shown great partiality towards the white garment as if it was their tribal peculiarity. It is also to be particularly noticed that in the central, eastern and south-eastern parts the

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'sāri' is not drawn over the head among all communities. It is well known that most of the tribal peoples residing in these parts do not require their ladies to carry the 'sāri' over their heads. The Manjhi or Majhwar ladies of the United Provinces must go bare-headed, not being allowed to draw a portion of their 'sāri' or sheet over their heads. Another speciality of a Manjhi woman's dress claims our attention because of its affinities very much further to the south. Over the largest part of India women are not known to wear an inner lower garment, either a small skirt or a small strip of cloth under their daily lower garment. We shall see later that in Tamil land ladies of even high castes wear an under-garment which is best described as a 'laṅgoṭi', a piece of apparel usually worn by lower class men to cover their privities. The Manjhi women as Crooke informs us "contrary to the custom of all ordinary Hindu women" wear an under-garment underneath their tightly drawn 'sāri's which is known as 'bhaguā'. That this piece is the equivalent of 'laṅgoṭi' becomes further clear from the fact that at least in the eastern districts of Bihar a strip of cloth worn round the loins by males is called 'bhagawān'.[7] Hindi lexicon lists 'bhagāi' as the equivalent of 'laṅgoṭi'.

One feature commonly comprised under costume but omitted throughout by me in this treatise, viz. that of the footwear, deserves to be noticed here in view of its very special nature and possible historical association. In the parts of this region, known generally as Bundelkhand, the shoes sported by men are peculiar. They have large flaps, coming high up the leg both in front and behind, which are tied round the leg almost half-way up. Many times they are ornamented with lace and red woollen cloth.[8] Are they the remnants of the long boots common with the Kuṣāṇa kings and traditionally associated with the images of Sun-god? Leather foot-wear, listed in Hemacandra's *Deśīnāmamālā* under 'addhajaṅghā'[9] appears to retain their memory.

The British connection seems to have affected here not only to make the short and the long coat, patterned after the European garment of that name, and the Hungarian and the black cap, designed on its model, the stylish mode but also popularized a variety of the old-fashioned long coat as it was being patterned by the Muslims. The long coat, fairly fitting above the waist and having a more or less distinctly marked skirt reaching just above the knees but fastened centrally in front with buttons and commonly called 'sherwāni' not only began to be used but became so fashionable in certain parts that the elite Indians here have tended to look upon it as their national dress. It has a collar which is rather low but standing. Among

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respectable classes not directly affected by British routine, however, the 'kudtā' (339, 344), the 'caubandi', 'bagalbandi' or 'mirjāi' (342, 343, 346), retained their place even longer than elsewhere. The female dress in the upper strata has tended to approximate to a common type represented by the ensemble of the undergarment, petticoat, and the five or six yards long 'sāri', with the European patterned blouse taking the place of the 'kurti' or 'salūkā' (345).

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6. loc. cit., vol. I, p. 119.
7. Crooke, vol. I, p. 290, vol. II, pp. 96, 155, vol. III, pp. 199-200, 449-450, vol. IV, p. 118; Russell, vol. IV, pp. 91, 426, 429; *Hoshangabad D. G.* p. 88, *Saugor D. G.* pp. 83-5, *Damoh D. G.* p. 67, *Jubbulpore D. G.* pp. 127-128; *Narsinghpur D. G.* pp. 75-6, *Seoni D.G.* p. 67; *Patna D.G.* pp. 45-6, *Champaran D.G.* p. 52, *Palamau D.G.* p. 58, *Saran D.G.* p. 37. N.B.—In Munda language 'bāgoā' or 'bhāgoā' denotes 'laṅgoṭi', (Roy S.C. (1) p. 364).
8. *Saugor D.G.* p. 84, *Damoh D.G.* p. 68.
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8

Recent and Contemporary (contd.):

Eastern, South-Central and West-Central Regions

Some of the features in the costume of the people in the eastern part of the great region of Madhyadeśa — the United Provinces, Central India and Bihar — both of the male as well as the female, if viewed by themselves and not in conjunction with the dress of the people immediately to their west, will strike one as rather peculiar. Thus if we should pass from a sartorial study of the westernmost part of the United Provinces immediately to that of the easternmost part of this region we would be struck by the great divergence between the two costumes. From the male costume not only does the pyjama disappear entirely but also is the 'dhoti' worn in a manner not common in the western area. Head-dress, too, tends to become as a daily feature rather rare, preparing the observer and the reader for the bare-headedness common in Vangadeśa and Oḍṛdeśa, in Bengal and in Orissa. There are other traits of the costume of the area we are now on the threshhold of, which only emphasize this difference. In female costume, too, there is observable the substitution of white 'dhoti' worn in the 'sāri'-fashion without much regard for the breast-garment, for the skirt, and for the scarf common in the western parts of the United Provinces. As we shall see presently, the ladies of the area about to be reviewed exhibit in their sartorial habits not only other distinguishing traits but also have features which link up with the costume of ladies further to the south-west and the south. For ease of reference we shall call this area the Eastern region. As with the last region here too we shall find that at the extremities there are types of dress which appear not only different from those of the central part but also link up with other areas within the country and even outside it. When I treat the region as a unit I do not postulate entire sartorial homogeneity.

The common male dress of this region is formed by a 'dhoti' and a 'cādara' and the Uriyā lexicon lists the compound word 'dhoti-cādara', appropriately translating it as a suit of clothes consisting of a wearing piece and a covering piece. The

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'dhoti' in Bengal among the 'bhadralok's is not only tucked behind in the pleated style but has its end, that is thus treated, invariably coming from the left-side portion of it, as is the universal custom all over India south of Gujarat. The surplus portion of the 'dhoti' coming over from the right side is taken up and pleated breadthwise and tucked in at the navel. It is not customary to draw up the lower ends of the hanging pleats and either to tuck them direct or treat them further for such tucking. The lower ends of the pleats thus keep on dangling about. The 'dhoti' did not have any coloured borders but was simply a white sheet. The 'cādar', the covering sheet, was simply thrown over the upper part of the body swathing it from the neck to the hips. Brahmins and similar classes for ordinary daily purposes did not have any other clothing. Particularly the 'caubandi', 'bagalbandi' or the 'mirjai' type of close-fitting ancient coat appears to have been conspicuous by its absence. Other well-to-do classes put on a tunic called 'piran' or 'pairan', a word not listed in the Uriyā lexicon. Both in Bengal and Orissa these classes commonly did not wear any head-gear. The agricultural and labouring classes on the other hand, at least in Bengal not only dispensed with the full-dimensioned 'cādar' and replaced it by a much smaller edition of it called the 'gamchā', which we have already met with in Bihar, and used it for a double purpose. It was generally carried over the shoulders plaid-like; but when the wearer was at work he either turned it into a 'kamarband' by wrapping it round his loins over his rather meagre lower garment or better utilized it to ward off the sun from his head by winding it over there. In Uriyā 'gamchā' as well as its Indo-Aryan original 'anguchā' are met with as the appellations of this piece of apparel. Napkin-like, it appears to have been worn by Brahmins and other classes. But in the matter of the wearing of the 'dhoti' by these classes Orissa records a difference which brings her more or less in line with the people further west and south, in Mahārāṣṭra and in the Āndhradeśa. The front pleats were further treated so that the lower ends instead of dangling at the feet fell over the waist-cord about a foot or so over the lower abdomen (356, 357). The front pleats are known as 'phera' in Uriyā; and the expression 'phera khosibā', 'to tuck up the ends of pleats', taken together with 'phera chārḍibā', 'to let them hang down', testifies to the Uriyā practice of tucking up the lower end of the front pleats.

Not to allow the lower ends to dangle, as we have seen, was considered to be a good Brahmanic practice for the various stages of which curiously enough outside the 'dharma' literature the terms are to be met with among the Āndhras and the Tamils. The existence of a term for the first stage in the Uriyā language, reminiscent of ths usage further south, is therefore not only interesting from the point of

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view of the nature of the standard mode of wearing the 'dhoti' but also from the consideration of affinity. The Uriyā term 'tikacchi' or 'tekacchi' meaning the wearing of the loin-cloth with three tuckings may be compared with the Telugu and Tamil 'trigaccham'. But the 'pancagaccam' of the latter languages, expressing the ritual or formal mode of putting on the loin-cloth or 'dhoti' with five tuckings, is not listed in the lexicon. The Uriyā people would thus appear to have gone a stage further than the Bengalis in their adjustment to the 'shāstraic' injunction about the putting on of 'dhoti' but had not completed the process by insisting on five tuckings of that garment for ritual, formal or correct dress.

It is interesting to find listed in the lexicon the term 'ekakānikiā', wearing one garment so as to cover both the lower part as well as the upper, in view of the fact that the Shastraic injunctions decried the practice of utilizing one garment in this manner as a mode wherein the wearer was to be considered as going naked.

The office dress of the officialdom of Bengal consisted of some kind of pyjama with a sort of tunic, over which was put on a long coat which was open-fronted (353). Over this, ordinary people would wrap their usual 'cādar', while the elite would don a loose overcoat-like old type of coat, known elsewhere as 'cogā'. Instead of this combination the long 'angarkhā' coat with an opening on the right of the chest was also current (354). The 'dhoti' took the place of the pyjama among the lower rungs of the official ladder (354). Headgear was a necessity of this ensemble and both in Bengal and in Orissa a squat 'pāgḍi', 'turban', illustrated in the pictures of some of the famous Bengalis of the British period, supplied the want. But older style linking it up with eastern Bihar was not unknown (353, 354). It is natural that in Uriyā, the common term for the old-fashioned long coat, 'ackan', should denote a coat fastened centrally with buttons, which garment in the Hindi and other areas was rather its modern transformation, either purely Indian and then known as 'sherwāni', or Indo-British and then called the long coat.

The common female fashions were satisfied by one cloth of about six yards in length which enveloped both the lower part as well as the upper (355). Unlike the mode of wearing this garment common in the Western region the ladies drew up the portion of the garment to be used for clothing the upper part of the body from the right hip over the bosom and the left shoulder whence from behind it mounted in some part the head so as to cover the largest part of it and the rest descended on the right shoulder. This end was then either allowed to dangle or more generally one edge of it drawn up from under the right arm-pit was thrown on the left shoulder.

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In either case so long as the upper part of the body was not clothed with a bodice or any similar garment, dictates of decency and modesty among the respectable classes made it necessary for the dangling end to be so managed that the richer breadthwise border of the loose end, 'ācaḷā', would lie partly on the back side and partly in front. In the illustration (355) the artist has evidently incorrectly represented the upper-covering of the upper part of the body. The chief decorative feature of the 'sāri', therefore, in this mode of wearing must be considered to be disposed neither in the manner of the North nor in that of the South. In the former it lies in front and attracts attention to the frontal contours; in the latter it lies on the buttocks where more or less concealing their contour it only serves to focus attention on the decorative design.

As in the illustration (355) the only covering for the bosom consisted of the portion of the 'sāri' passing over it. No special breast-garment was donned. So much was this considered to be the decent mode of dress that the word 'coli' and the piece of apparel denoted by it are, I was informed by the late Bijaycandra Muzumdar, foreign to Bengal. He told me that when about the year 1881 some Calcutta firms advertized the new garment, which was being then partronized by Brahmo ladies, there was a slight furore. A young reformist Brahmin, who had not turned a Brahmo, bought one and asked his young wife to wear it. She was reported to have rejoined that she was not a prostitute to put on such an indecent piece of apparel. 'Coli' and its variants, calculated to swell up the breasts and present their contours, were, in popular esteem, associated with public women and were considered indecent for respectable ladies.

The female costume of Bengal in this stage resembled that of the Central region in only one particular, that of drawing a portion of the lower garment over the head so as to cover it. The position in which the portion of the 'sāri' going over the bosom rests is identical with that it has in the costume of Mahārāṣṭrian ladies. Absence of the breast-garment is a feature which has its analogues in the nearby hill-tribes and the further away peoples of South India.

While the general picture of the dress of Bengali ladies is true also of that of Uriyā ladies, there are lexical terms which connote certain features which align the dress of a section of Uriyā ladies more with that of Maharastra than with that of South India. The use of the loose 'cādara' over all on the other hand is reminiscent of the Central region. 'Kāṇikacchā' denotes the end of the cloth tucked down and taken up towards the back side by females and thus indicates the practice of tucking

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up the under-edge of the female lower garment at the back. The term 'mulhikachā' even goes further in establishing the female practice of drawing one end of the 'sāri' between the legs and of tucking it behind. What is more intriguing is that linguistically the term is affined to the Tamil expression 'mūlagacche' which denotes the manner of wearing the male 'dhoti' with one end tucked behind and not to the Telugu term for the same mode, viz. 'biḷḷagoci'.

The female lower garment in the whole area is uniformly called 'śāḍi' or 'śārḍhi' and not 'dhoti'. That this garment is commonly provided with ornamental borders is clear from the fact that in Uriyā there exists the expression 'śārḍhī dharḍiā', meaning a cloth having a broad border like that of a 'śārḍhi', which word too means only a garment that is worn by women whose husbands are living. The 'sāri' worn by widows had no coloured border and was known as 'phuṭā lugā' or 'śuṇṭhiā'. The usual word for border 'kināri' is also listed in Uriyā, though the more common term for this feature in this area is 'dharḍi', which may be compared with Marāṭhi 'dhāri'. Though the pleated portion of the 'dhoti', which is made to rest over the waist-band at the navel, has a special term to designate it no such favour is shown to the tucked up portion of the female garment. The word 'piṇḍhā' means both the waist-garment as well the pleated portion of it which rests over the waist-band. Hence instead of the common expression of 'dhoti cādara' for the male sartorial ensemble we have sometimes 'piṇḍhā cādara'. We may conclude that in this region the front pleats of the female lower garment being tucked into the waist to hold the garment in its place had nothing in it to enthuse the people about it as in other regions. The Uriyās, however, made up for this by enshrining their admiration of the manner of wearing the garment over the front of the upper part of the body in a special term, which is rather interesting because of its ancient associations. 'Biñcaṇi paṇanta' denotes the end of a woman's 'sāri' which spreads in the front from the thighs to the shoulders and is arranged in the shape of a fan. While Marathi-knowing readers will easily recognise in 'biñcaṇi' their dialectal word 'viñjaṇñ' which means a fan, students of Pāli will be tickled by the imagery as they will remember the same having been used in Pāli literature to denote one manner of wearing the 'dhoti'. The breadthwise border and the portion of the 'sāri' which has it gets the more common appellation of 'ācala' or 'ācalā', though the more native word 'lugā muhañ' is also listed. The interesting word 'lugā', because of its associations outside this area with female lower garment, stands for the female lower garment specifically in opposition to the word 'dhoti' which stands for the lower garment of males. Hence the compound expression for the dress of a female in Uriyā is 'lugā cādara'

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precisely as that for the sartorial ensemble of males is 'dhoti cādara'. The other word for 'cādara' is 'uparāṇa' and is clearly cognate with 'uparṇi' and similar terms of other Indo-Aryan languages.

The importance of coloured borders in female clothing is indicated here as elsewhere by special words for garments with particular types of borders. Side by side with words like 'sādhā dharḍī' and 'śukla dharḍiā', which denote 'sāri's with simple or white borders, there is the term 'surubuli', which means a species of red-bordered white 'sāri', and 'maṇḍā paraḍiyā', meaning 'sāri' with circular marks in the border. Terms based on the colour of the ground of 'sāri's are in evidence, though the famous 'cunari' of the other regions becomes here conspicuous by its absence. 'Nīlāmbarī' is a blue 'sāri', 'meghaḍambara' a 'sāri' of the colour of clouds and 'mayūrakaṇṭhiā' one coloured like the neck of a peacock.

After the British connection, apart from the use of trousers by the higher strata of officials the most important modification in the male costume was the introduction of a short coat very much like the Jodhpur coat of low but standing collar. The 'topi' did not find much favour with the bare-head-loving people of this region. In the female wardrobe 'coli' and its Europeanized variants found a permanent footing among the respectable classes.[1]

In view of the great importance of the dress of some of the hill-people of this region in the sartorial history of Indians not only of this region but of others, too, it would be interesting and instructive both to describe the costume of some of them.

The Khamtis of the north-eastern frontier, whose males dress their lower body in a coloured garment of cotton or silk, swathe the upper part in a tight-fitting jacket. Their manner of dressing their head is the most remarkable, having evident similarities with those represented in the sculptures of Sanci. The hair is twisted into a knot which projects over the forehead and the white muslin turban is so folded round the head as to leave this projection exposed. The manner of doing the hair adopted by their females too is reminiscent of the sculptures of Mathura, Sanci and Bharhut. Not only do they raise the hair-knot to form the top-knot but also they encircle the roll of hair by an embroidered band, the fringed and tasselled ends of which. dangle behind. The principal garment is a piece of dark-coloured cloth, the mode of wearing which they share in common with the Shāns and the Maṇipuris and remind one of at least one representation of it in the Ajantā paintings. As we shall see later it is present to some extent in the extreme South-West of our country

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and among some tribes of the Nilgiri hills. The cloth is folded over the breasts and under the arms and tied in a knot. It is long enough to reach to the feet. This is also the usual manner of dressing among Assamese women of the lower classes. Over this the Khāmti women wear a coloured silk piece round the waist and a long-sleeved jacket over the upper part of the body. Kachāri women wear a regular turban of dark brown cloth very much on one side of the head. The Maghs of Bengal illustrate in the differences of the costumes of their sections some of the sartorial acculturation that has been going on in this part of the country. While the Northern Maghs wear the 'dhoti' as the other Bengalis do the Southern ones sport the Burmese dress consisting of a silk lungi, a jacket and a white 'pāgri'. The 'pāgri' is often replaced by a jaunty piece of coloured silk. In view of the preponderance bordering on universality of horizontal stripes in the lower garments of the elite ladies figuring in the frescoes of Ajantā, it is interesting to note that the Magh ladies put on a piece of horizontally striped silk cloth as the skirt. For the bosom again a piece of silk is either wrapped over the breasts and fastened into a knot or tucked into a string tied about that region. Some add a dark-coloured jacket to this ensemble. All wear a white 'pāgri', which is sometimes adorned with embroidered ends.[10]

The Santal women put on a 'sāri' of about 6 yards in length with a gay red border. It is wrapped round the loins. Its surplus portion comes from the right side and passes over the left shoulder, leaving the right shoulder and arm quite free. It is not taken over the head. A part of the right breast is thus left exposed. The Ho, Munda and Bhumij women draw one end of the 'sāri' between the legs and tuck it in at the back. The distinctive feature of the dress of an Oraon male is the girdle of cords made of tusser silk or of cane which he wears over his loin-cloth. The lower garment of their females narrates the story of assimilation. In the villages where they have not much come into contact with the higher caste Hindu population it is narrow enough so that it does not stretch further than the knees. But where the contact has been intense the 'sāri' is much broader and like that of the Santals a white garment with red border. Dalton observed the difference between the Oraon mode of disposing of the surplus portion of the 'sāri' and the Bengali one. Both the Munda and Oraon women draw the portion going diagonally over the upper part of the body from the left side up and over the right shoulder where it goes at the back. In Munda language it is called 'pailā'.[11]

The Khonds or Khands of the Uriyā region provide the nearest equivalent in male dress of that we have come across in the sculptures of Sanci, Jaggayyapeta

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and Amaravati. The formal dress of a Khand male consisted of a narrow but long strip of cloth with fringed ends so put on that a part was left over hanging like a 'tail'. It was in the dressing of the head that the Khand not only gloried but provided a replica of the modes of head-covering met with in the sculptures mentioned. The hair drawn forward was rolled up into a horn-like projection over the forehead, jutting in between the eyebrows. Around it was wrapped a piece of red cloth and into it were inserted feathers of favourite birds. The females kept their bosom bare, swathing the lower part of the body in a narrow piece of cloth, reaching only to the mid-thighs, reminding one of the many ladies' attendants in the Ajanta frescoes.[12]

One speciality of the Munda–Oraon female dress contrasted with that of the Bengali women is to draw up the surplus portion of the 'sāri' to cover the upper part from over the left thigh and to take it diagonally over the bosom on to the right shoulder over which then it may fall on the back. This feature is present in the costume of the females of parts of Chattisgarh. Thus women in Raipur district dispose the upper part of their 'sāri's in this manner and combine with it the feature common in Bengal and in the Central and Western regions, of drawing a part of this portion, after it has passed over the right shoulder, over the head. The free end is left to dangle on the bosom from over the left shoulder. In Balaghat the regular attire of women is formed by a coloured 'sāri', covering the figure from head to the knees. Married women rest a portion of the loose end over their heads before allowing it to dangle over the bosom or the back. Excepting women of certain castes, who consider it below their respectability to wear it, all put on a bodice called either 'coli' or 'aṅgiā'. The castes which discountenance the use of a bodice appear to be affined to the tribal society, either that to the west or the one to the east. Gond ladies now put on 'sāri's of red and other colours but formerly sported only white ones. They are not allowed to cover their bosom with a bodice, 'coli'. If any one is fashionable enough to dare experiment with it she is promptly put out of the caste. They seem to wear the 'sāri' with one end drawn up behind and tucked in at the waist. But the novelty and the comparative unrespectability of the practice is evinced by the fact that when a Gond woman meets an elderly man of her own family she must immediately undo the hind tucking and allow the 'sāri' to hang vertically and round. Omission to do this is seriously taken note of.[13]

Among the people whose costume we studied last we came across for the first time in the distribution of Indian dress a garment for females which measured much more than the one met with among others. The nine yards 'sāri' is more than one

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and a half times the garment of that name worn by ladies of the regions dealt with before. And this 'sāri', whether full nine yards or eight yards or even ten yards, is the prevailing lower garment of the ladies of Mahārāṣṭra, Karnāṭaka, Āndhradeśa and Tāmilnād. In wearing the 'sāri' Gond ladies do not draw up a portion thereof over their heads. In their pristine state they do not form and tuck up hind pleats. In disposing of the surplus portion of the 'sāri' to cover the upper part of the body among some groups it is drawn up diagonally from the right hip and over the left shoulder, while among others it is sported in exactly the contrary manner, being drawn up from the left hip and over the right shoulder. In these features the sartorial practices of these people resemble those of the Āndhras the most and of the Tāmils, the Kannaḍigas and the Mahārāṣṭrians the next. However, there is sufficient distinction in the sartorial habit for us to recognise here the advent of a different scheme of costume.

When we pass on to Mahārāṣṭra from among the Santals, Mundas, Oraons, the Chattisgarhis and the Gonds, we traverse through a transitional area into one which should have seemed an entirely different one in respect of the female dress. As regards the male costume, from the bare-headedness of Bengal and Orissa the transition to the Āndhra and the Tāmil Brahmins and from them to the males of upper classes in the Malayālam region on the south–western coast would have been a smooth and natural one. But when one steps from Orissa into Mahārāṣṭra one leaves a markedly bare-headed area of males to one of not only regularly head-covered ones but also to one where the variety of headgear is almost as great as that in Rājasthān and Saurāṣṭra. And the great variety of head-dress is not correlated with caste as much as with geographical area and perhaps also with cultural history.

The principal lower garment of males among most classes, excepting the Marathas, who are the backbone of Mahārāṣṭra, is the 'dhoti', called in Marāṭhi 'dhotar', with narrow coloured borders. Without suggesting either that all classes of people put on the wide and long 'dhoti', about 50 inches wide and four or four and a half yards long, or even that all those who favour this long and wide garment insist on the coloured borders, I wish my readers to note the importance attached to the borders of a 'dhoti' in lexical terms comparable to that ascribed to the borders of a 'sāri' elsewhere in Northern India. Not only are some of the qualifying terms, used elsewhere and in this region, too, to distinguish varieties of 'sāri' on the basis of the nature of its borders, applied to the 'dhoti' for identical purpose but also there are special terms which apply exclusively to the 'dhoti'. Whereas the adjectival terms

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'karavaṭkāṭhī' and 'ruifulī' may be used to distinguish varieties of both the 'dhoti' and the 'sāri', the term 'cicapāni' is applicable only to a 'dhoti' whose borders are of a particular design. The expression 'bājirāvi dhotarjoḍā' is very interesting in this connection. It means a pair of 'dhoti's whose border is a foot and a half in breadth and is named after one of the Peshwas, known for his foppishness.

The Brahmanic and the standard mode of wearing this garment in Mahārāṣṭra is one wherein the hind pleats, which invariably are formed from the portion of the 'dhoti' which is on the left side of the wearer, are properly and neatly done, so that when they are tucked in behind there is no end flapping about or requiring to be tucked. They are to be formed and tucked in such a manner that the whole bunch when tucked leaves no space between the buttocks and the inner-most pleat of the bunch. In short, it does not appear to hang rather loose but fits tight over the divide of the buttocks. The word for hind pleats whether of the 'dhoti' or the 'sāri' is the same viz. 'kāsa', which is clearly derivable from the Samskṛt term 'kakṣā' and appears in other Indian languages as 'kaccha', 'kacce' or 'gacce'. The expression 'pokaḷakāśecā' or 'pokaḷakāṣṭyācā' means a male whose hind pleats are loose and hollow, and connotes a male who is not strict either about his money-dealings or about his sex-morals. It is thus a condemnatory term. The lexicon lists the compound word 'drāviḍakaccha' and only gives its verbal meaning, viz. the hind pleats as sported by the Drāviḍas, but does not further enlighten its readers. It appears that the term is rather derisive as well as deprecatory, and perhaps conveys the same notion as the expression 'pokaḷakāsa', or probably refers to the mode of wearing the hind pleats spread out on one side of the buttocks. Among lower classes of Mahārāṣṭra the hind pleats, when a 'dhoti' proper is worn, are not regular; and the outer end being loose flaps about tail-like behind as among most Gujarātis. The surplus portion of the 'dhoti' coming from the right side is first pleated breadthwise and an inch or two inches length thereof tucked at the navel into the edge of the wrap of the 'dhoti'. These pleats, if left to themselves without further treatment, have their ends dangling about with the motion of the wearer. To leave them thus to flap about is considered immodest or indecent. The lower free ends of the pleats are carefully smoothened and a few of them are taken up and tucked over the already tucked in bunch at the navel. This operation secures a curvilinear and triangularized front, the coloured border forming a nice curvilinear edging to it at the right side. The standard treatment of the hind pleats disposes the coloured border as the left-side edging of the pleats. The front pleats are called 'niryā' or

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'miryā', the latter term being only a dialectal and colloquial version of the former, which is clearly related to the Kaṇṇada term for the same feature, viz. 'neri'.

This is the usual and more or less regular mode of sporting the 'dhoti' current among Brahmin and similar other classes. As in the matter of hind pleats so in regard to the disposal of front pleats, other classes allow a much wider choice. One comes across varieties of wearing the front pleats which are identical with those ordinarily prevalent in the Central region, and also those current in Saurāṣṭra and in Orissa. But among all classes it is understood that the wearing of the 'dhoti' on ritual occasions must conform as nearly as possible to the Brahmanic norm. In view of the usual mode of wear prevalent among upper classes and also of the general sentiment regarding it, it is surprising that one does not come across any standard word for this manner of donning the 'dhoti'. As we shall see presently, the Andhras and the Tamils have preserved the transformation of the Samskṛt word 'pañca-kaccham', meaning 'five-times tucked', in their expression 'pancagacce', 'pancakacce'. In a Marāṭhi lexicon the word 'pacaṅga' is listed and given the meaning of hind pleats. The word is properly traced to the Samskṛt 'pancakaccham'. Its true meaning, as appears from its context in a song, is the same as Marāṭhi 'kāsoṭā' i.e. taking the lower ends of the front pleats back between the legs and tucking them by the side of the hind pleats. This mode is resorted to when perfect freedom and security for activity is desired.

The Marathas sported the divided garment either in the form of shorts or short pantaloons reaching upto the knees, or in that of the tapering pyjama so characteristic of Rājasthān. The former type of garment was more in vogue with the peasants and similar classes while the latter with the nobility or the so-called high class Marathas. The shorter piece of attire was known as 'coḷaṇā' and the longer one either as 'ijāra', 'tumāna' or 'suravāra'. The word 'pyjama', too, is listed, and being equivalent to trousers denotes the wide-ended, long divided garment of that name.

The upper part of the body was clothed by the upper classes with the piece of apparel with which we have become very familiar under various names. In Mahārāṣṭra it has kept a rather formidable type and has accordingly received an imposing appellation. It is styled in standard Marathi 'bārābandi' or 'bārākasī', being provided with six pairs of strings or tapes to fasten it in place. Each of the two flaps is tied with the help of three pairs. As usual the upper flap is fastened at

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the left side (362). Dialectically it is known as 'banyan' or 'banyān', a word which we came across in Gujarāti. The agricultural and labouring classes wore instead a garment which was buttoned up centrally in front and like the other piece of attire reached the waist but unlike it had only half sleeves. It is called 'baṇḍī', 'kuḍatī', words which have become familiar to us. A sleeveless version of it is known as 'hātakāpẽ'. An altogether different garment, more like a shirt and generally termed here tunic, could replace either of the two. It is known in its North-Indian name 'kuḍatẽ' as well as in two other names of Perso-Arabic origin, 'pairaṇ' and 'sadarā'. It is looser than a shirt, reaches up to the mid-thighs, has full and rather wide sleeves without cuffs, and like the shirt buttons up centrally in front (363). Generally it was collarless. For formal occasions among Brahmins and similar classes, and even ordinarily among the high-class Marathas, a longer coat of the standard type, with which we have been familiar in Rājasthān and other areas, and known as in other regions either as 'aṅgarkhā' or as 'jāmā', was put on over the 'bārābandi' or the 'pairaṇ' (366). With all this the draping of the upper part of the body was not complete. The scarf, the 'dupaṭṭā' of the Western and Central regions was an invariable complement of proper attire. The most common word in Marāṭhi for this garment is 'uparṇī', which is the term applied to it alternatively in some other areas. The more usual word of the other regions, 'dupaṭṭā', is conspicuous by its absence here. It is otherwise known as 'upavastra', 'aṅgavastra' and even in its derivative form, current in the Eastern region, of 'aṅgochā' or 'aṅgosā'. It was not uncommon, and even now not unknown, for men to clothe the upper parts of their bodies only with the help of the scarf. Its importance in the sartorial ensemble of a Mahārāṣṭrian male can be appreciated when it is known that though for daily use the garment could be an undecorated and simple one, for all formal and ritual occasions it used to be one with splendid coloured borders, both lengthwise and breadthwise. And just as Nagpur was famous for its large-bordered 'dhoti's so too was it known for its 'uparṇī's or scarfs. A particularly rich and ornamented variety of it was known as 'śelā'. How richly decorated and finely woven that version of this garment must have been can be imagined when one knows that the scarf worn over their upper parts of the bodies by elite ladies was also known by that name and was identical with it. The famous Marathi dramatist, Aṇṇā Kirloskar, in his drama Saubhadra, has utilized this fact for dramatic purpose, taking his cue perhaps from the very much earlier Samskṛt drama *Mṛcchakaṭika*. The hero, finding the heroine in a swoon in the jungle, covers her up with his scarf while he himself goes in search of water. In the meanwhile she is spirited away to her palace. There on recovering herself and finding the scraf of

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her lover on her body she pours out her love-sentiments over it. The word used for this garment by this most successful dramatist is 'śelā'. The scarf used to be an invariable component of the ensemble called 'sāḍetīnapoṣākha', 'three and a half apparels', which was the standard of dress-present as an honour gift. And the sartorial present of the ordinary people in routine life is denoted by the compound word 'śelāpāgoṭẽ', 'scarf and turban'. The 'dhoti' is taken for granted; and a male's respectability and dignity are measured by his scarf and turban.

The head-covering was formed either by a pre-formed turban or by a freshly folded turban (362, 363, 366). The latter can take two forms, which are distinguishable in their shape and general form, the nature and extent of their material as well as in their respective affinities with their homologues outside this region. The 'pheṭā' or 'paṭkā' is folded over the head with the help of a piece of cloth measuring about a foot in width and fifteen to twenty-two feet in length. Compared with the dimensions of the cloth which is used in Rājasthān to fold such a turban those of the Mahārāṣṭrian 'pheṭā' or 'paṭkā' are not only less pretentious but also puny. But fundamentally the headgears are identical, only differing in volume. Here, as there, of the two sides of the head-dress one is definitely higher, and the whole being tilted to one side, the other is not only squat but also covers the ear. Whether one end is kept erect at the crown as a kind of projecting bunch or simply tucked into and under the other folds, the other end is invariably let fall over the neck and the back. It is sported by Marathas and particularly so by those who claim to be high class and of Rajput affinities. Though Śivāji's most characteristic portrait by contemporary artists does not depict him in this headgear, many of his famous military lieutenants are known in it. It would appear that because of its Rajput associations it had almost assumed the role of a military uniform for the head. Bājirāo I in his most typical equestrian portrait appears in this head-dress. And Swāmi Vivekānand, the famous Vedantist yet militant ascetic from Bengal, is shown in his most characteristic portrait as wearing a 'paṭkā' as his head-dress. Only as befitted a Hindu recluse and reflecting the militant associations of the Maratha nationalist upsurge the cloth was ochre-or saffron-coloured. The other variety of head-dress freshly folded over the head is known as 'rumāla' (399 [24]). A square piece of cloth about twelve feet in length is rolled around one of its diagonals and the roll is then folded over the head so that the two sides of the head-dress from the central line shall be more or less equal and no end of the cloth shall lie loose. In doing this it generally shows, when neatly folded, two points, slightly projecting out of the main body of the headgear, one in front and the other at the back of the head. For ordinary use it is generally

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a white piece without ornamental borders; but a more gay variety of it is sometimes sported particularly by some of the lower classes. For occasional and formal purposes it is very often white with gold-thread borders or in various colours with gold-thread borders and even with gold-thread cross streaks in the ground. In its white variety it is almost identical with the headgear of Karnataka, and of Tamilnad and Āndhradeśa too, when males of the last two areas do put on a head-dress at all. Attention may be drawn to the Tamil word for such garment, viz. 'urumāli'.

The pre-formed head-dress, which like the European hat has only to be put on and off whenever one wants, too, has two main varieties, though known by only one term, 'pāgoṭē' or 'pāgaḍi' (399 (25-39/)). The one version which is round, in varying sizes, as opposed to the square or three-cornered appearance of the other variety, can be easily distinguished from the latter by the banana-like protuberance it has, rising above the general level of the turban. The protuberance may lie just at the crown at right angles to the axis of the head or may rise slightly towards the right of this line and branch off from the back end and attain its full height by the side of the right ear. This variety has been patronized by Brahmins and similar classes. It has a remarkable similarity in appearance with the head-dress seen on one head of Kuṣāṇa times from Mathura (66). The other variety has half a dozen varying versions. But its chief characteristic of being either four-pointed or three-pointed persists through all of them. Another feature of it brings it in line with the 'pāgri's of Rājasthān, and that is that in its folding into shape, the cloth is twisted into rope-like roll, which therefore appears almost everywhere in twisted rolls rather than in flat lengths. It is the usual head-dress of Marathas of all classes as well as Malis and other classes of the populace of Mahārāṣṭra outside the Konkan or the Western coastal strip. Both from the point of view of the importance of the classes in the social polity of Mahārāṣṭra as well as from that of numbers this turban may be declared to be the most characteristic head-dress of Mahārāṣṭra. It bears evident affinities with the headgear appearing on some of the sculptures of Gandharan origin and is identical with at least two turbans in the sculptures of Nāgārjunikonda on the Kṛṣṇā which I have used as an illustration (300). In modern headgear in one of its forms—the purely white variety which appears on the head of the picture of the famous Mahārāṣṭrian saint-poet Tukārām (358)—it exactly resembles the turban seen on the heads of Maithila Brahmins from Bihar in picture 347.

One more head-dress current among some peoples of Mahārāṣṭra deserves to be mentioned here because of its historical significance, though the number of peoples

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sporting it is comparatively small. It is the high cap with a four-pointed top and horseshoe-shaped cut at its lower end centrally over the forehead. It is red or scarlet in colour. It has been noticed as the standard headgear of the Sonkolis of Bombay and is illustrated in picture 399 (23). Fairly far from Bombay in the Goa territory a much larger number of classes, including the Sāraswat Brahmins, used to wear this cap without the frontal slit till recently. And even now perhaps one may come across it there in the villages or in the out of the way places. The Goa people simply call it the red cap, 'tāmbaḍī ṭopī'. Its affinities are with four-cornered head-dress seen on the head of Indra or śakra in some of the Buddhist sculptures (252) as also on that of the serpent-bedded form of Visnu sculptured at Deogarh in Central India and at Mahabalipura near Madras (307). Perhaps the headgear of the image of the Sun-god at Bhumara in Central India (207) is not so utterly different from this one that it cannot be derived from the type worn by the Sun-god. It must be considered to be different from the conical cap, high or low, and called 'kullah', whether as represented in the sculptures of Northern India or more pronouncedly in the sculptural representations of Pallava and Vijayanagar kings or the Nayaka kings of Madura and Tanjore or from that described by travellers as the head-dress of Vijayanagar kings or again from the head-dress called 'kullai' sported by Brahmins and even perhaps by some other classes on the coastal strip of Karnataka and Mahārāṣṭra.

The costume of Mahārāṣṭrian males is composite. In so far as the most representative groups put on a dress, which is directly related to that of Rājasthān, and some items of that of the other important classes are essentially the same as that of the Central region, of Rājasthān and of Saurashtra, it proclaims itself to be in essence North Indian. The dress of other classes and other items of it showing closer ties with the dress of the South, Mahārāṣṭrian costume orients a student to the south. While the head-dress of Brahmin and similar classes is not to be met with outside this region, the usual manner of wearing the 'dhoti' though not so exclusively distinctive of Mahārāṣṭra, yet is sufficiently singular to mark off its costume as a distinct variety, whose principal affinities lie with the dress of the Central region. The tale told by female costume is almost entirely different. Here Mahārāṣṭra has the privilege of being the first of the Southern regions of India to record the use of the longer variety of the lower garment, 'sāri'. Whereas the 'sāri' in the areas so far studied measured only five or six yards at the most, that of Mahārāṣṭra, Karṇāṭaka, Āndhradeśa and Tāmilnād, measures not less than nine and might be even ten, yards. While the length of the lower garment is nearly double that of the garment of the West, the North and the East, its breadth, too,

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is a little greater. It distinguishes the Mahārāṣṭrian females' dress from the costumes of the females of the other areas so far studied and proclaimes its closer relations with that of the South. And, as we shall see presently, there are sufficient features in it to mark it off from those of other areas of the South and to make it thoroughly distinctive of Mahārāṣṭra.

The 'sāri' sported by Mahārāṣṭrian ladies, which is generally nine yards in length and about fifty or fifty-two inches in width, is called 'lugaḍē' or 'sāḍi', words which we met among peoples of other areas so far studied but which, as we shall see, are not traced in Dravidian languages of the South, unless we choose to discern in the Kannada term for female garment 'sire', the reflection or the prototype of the Marāṭhi word 'sāḍi'. It has two lengthwise borders of a pattern and colour, designed to bring them out into strong relief from the background of the body of the garment. There are also at the two ends breadthwise borders similarly designed, out of which the one intended to lie open to the public view is much more richly or highly decorated than the other which is to lie next to the body inside the wrappings of the 'sāri'.

While wearing the garment, a lady cleverly judges the length of it which will be necessary for smugly swathing her right thigh, the bosom and the left shoulder and for covering the whole back with the portion of this end of the 'sāri', when thrown back over it. She then arranges loosely the more decorated end in such a manner that it lies over the parts mentioned, and draws the rest of the 'sāri' from over the right hip to the back and then turns it to the front over the left thigh. Here she turns the main bulk of it so that she is able to catch hold of the upper edge of the less decorated breadthwise border. She makes a small triangular fold with it so that a part of this border is folded over itself on the inside and the breadth of that end is reduced to that extent. She draws the edge so treated over the right side but from underneath the already disposed portion of the 'sāri' and thence over the back and the left side, still underneath the first loose wrap, to the front. Either in the front centre or more generally at the right waist with the upper corner of the folded edge and one corner pulled out there from the second wrap of the 'sāri' she makes a firm knot and then pulls all the loose wrap here and there and swathes the body with it fittingly yet conveniently. By this disposal of a portion of the 'sāri' the lady has secured two more or less complete wraps of the garment round the waist and the lower part, one of which is close to the body and fairly fast and tight. The other is rather loose and has not only swathed her

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body with a number of obliquely running or diagonally disposed folds but has also provided a more or less effective extinguisher of some contours and has neatly clothed her bosom and the back, leaving the right shoulder and hand perfectly free for all movements. Drawing up the remaining volume of the 'sāri' centrally in front she then turns it into a number of pleats or puckers. The upper one of these is held over the wraps at the navel and the whole is turned over so that a smoothly fashioned bundle of the shape of a large banana is formed there and keeps the whole securely in its position. A few of the lower ends of the arranged pleats are then drawn up backwards between the legs and pleated, so that the lengthwise border frames them to their right, and tucked into the waist at the back-centre. This treatment secures the wearer's limbs almost as much freedom of movement as a divided garment like trousers. If still greater ease and security is desired then the front pleats are further treated to a tug and tuck-up at the back. Such disposal is the exact counterpart of a similar treatment of the 'dhoti' by males and is called 'kāsoṭā' in Marāṭhi. Tārābai, the founder of the now defunct kingdom of Kolhapur, is depicted on horseback in this ensemble (359). The famous Rani of Jhansi, Laxmibai, who took such a prominent part in the first rising against the British power, traditionally pictured in her martial dress appears in her equestrian picture in this garb of the closely draped 'sāri' (360).

The mode of wearing the 'sāri' with hind pleats tucked at the back is typical of ladies of Brahmin and similar classes all over Mahārāṣṭra. It is also the customary wear with most other classes in parts of it. It is known as 'kāsṭyāc̃e nesaṇa' or in Samskrtized language as 'sakaccha nesaṇa' meaning 'wearing the 'sāri' with the hind pleats tucked in', as opposed to the other mode, in which these are not formed but the whole wrap of the 'sāri' from the waist down is allowed to hang straight and round like a skirt. It is called 'gola nesaṇa' or 'round mode of wear'. Because no part of the lower end of the 'sāri' is drawn behind, the pleats in front are manifold and dangle rather low at the ankles. It is the favourite mode with ladies of Maratha and similar classes of some districts above the 'ghāts', where it is patronized sporadically even by a few lower classes. Even in the manner of wearing the 'sāri' with hind pleats it is felt by ladies of some of the Brahmin and other classes that the lower ends of the front pleats, called 'ghoḷa', 'oce' or 'soge', dangle rather too low for decency. In folk-songs rather low-hanging 'sāri' pleats are characterized as the trait of the costume of a belle. In popular opinion and language condemnation of such mode of wearing pleats is conveyed by characterizing it as 'sweeping the public streets manner'. Ladies of some of the Brahmin and other classes customarily draw up the

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lower ends of the front pleats and by drawing one of the pleats resting on the right side of the wearer over the drawn-up lower ends towards the left side tuck up its end at the left waist. The pleat thus drawn up from the lower end of the 'sāri' on the right side to the left waist forms a curvilinear loop with a fine sweep and holds the middle of the bunch of the lower ends of the drawn-up pleats fairly securely in place, thus lifting the lower ends neatly clear of the ground.

Before I leave this aspect of the Mahārāṣṭrian wearing of the 'sāri' it is necessary to record a significant fact regarding the sporting of the hind pleats. In the Konkan the dancing girls, who in ordinary daily life may and do wear the hind pleats without let or hindrance, do not and are not allowed to wear them when they are engaged for giving a public dancing and singing performance.

The picture of Laxmibai, who was a Brahmin lady, as well as that of Tārābai (360, 359), who was a high caste Marāṭhā and the founder of Kolhapur state, brings prominently to the reader's notice the feature of Mahārāṣṭrian ladies' costume, that is not ordinarily conveyed to an observer in a city like Bombay, but is of significance for sartorial history. It is that the loose end of the 'sāri', instead of being thrown over the left shoulder on the back to dangle there, is so arranged that from the left shoulder a portion of it ascends over the head and its remaining portion dangles over the back. The right side edge of the breadthwise border thus left to dangle is taken in the right hand and held firmly at about the level of the waist at the right. When freedom of the right hand is desired, as in drilling or military pursuits or even at ordinary work, the right side edge is simply drawn out tightly in front and tucked into the 'sāri', going over the drawn-up ascending part of the 'sāri', at about the left waist as in the equestrian picture of Tarabai. Ladies of Maratha and some other classes, too, wear their 'sāri's in this overhead style almost regularly. Ladies of Brahmin and similar classes used to do so on all formal, ceremonial and ritual occasions. In parts of Mahārāṣṭra and among some of the higher classes, where and among whom the wearing of the 'sāri' overhead was neither usual nor even resorted to on occasions, it was customary on ritual occasions for the principal female member of the household at least to wear a rich shawl in such a manner that in effect the whole ensemble reproduced the mode of wearing the 'sāri' overhead. While this is true of some of the higher classes there have been large groups of lower, working and artizan classes among whom it was not customary either to wear the 'sāri' overhead or to wear a separate shawl in that manner. As a matter of fact the drawing of the 'sāri' overhead is so much associated with the

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typical dress of a Hindu widow in Mahārāṣṭra that in standard Marāṭhi as well as in dialectal language an expression based upon this feature in the wear of a 'sāri' means a widow. Thus 'māthyāvarcyā padarācī' or 'māthyāvaylyā pālavācī' means a widow, i.e. one who has to wear her 'sāri' drawn over the head, which used to be clean-shaven.

The upper part of the body besides having the covering of the 'sāri' was clothed in a close-fitting bodice, which was fastened in position by a knot tied with its two flaps centrally just under the breasts (361, 364, 365). Its sleeves for respectability had to reach the region of the elbows. Its neck could be described as low cut in that variety of the garment which had no fastening arrangement at the neck but left a triangular space from the neck down to the divide of the breasts where the knot was made. The other variety was held in position not only by the knot made with the edges of the flaps but also by a kind of button fastening at the neck. It more or less closely fitted round the neck. The cloth out of which the garment, invariably called 'coḷi' in Marāṭhi, was made had ornamental borders, which were so disposed in its making that both the lower ends of the sleeves as well as that of the back were set off with them. The bodice could cover only half the distance from the neck down the back and in front only the bosom, leaving bare the upper abdomen. The function of the portion of the 'sāri' drawn over the upper part of the body and called 'padara' was to cover these parts of the body. In society therefore not only great importance was attached to the proper wearing of this 'padara' but also its specific function of modesty preservation was conveyed through talks and folk-songs. The elite manner of sporting this feature was so to dispose the drawn-up portion and the loose end that it squarely covered the breasts which as a folk-song declares may otherwise be easily observed by a male stranger. To allow one's breasts' contours to be gazed at was an anathema to modesty and not only imitative of the practice of public women but also indicative of their mentality. But the full purpose of the 'padara' is not yet achieved. At the back it should be properly rested on both shoulders whereby the loose end can hang squarely and cover the open portion of the back effectively. Such disposal of the loose end also helps adequate concealing of the frontal contours. The loose end has further the function of covering the buttocks. Hence it must be long enough to cover the whole of the back. Its hanging short over the back could not achieve the purpose of concealing the contour of the buttocks and was regarded as unrespectable practice. If the loose end or 'padara' was to be long, it was not to be long enough to dangle over the calves with only one of its edges straight down.

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The dictates of modesty and respectability were particularly centred on that portion of the 'sāri' which went up over the upper part of the body. There must have been some standard style about the disposal of the lower part of the 'sāri'. But whatever these instructions might have been none of them seem to have touched the one weakness of the Mahārāṣṭrian females' dress. It is that it used to expose from behind some part of the lower shanks. Gujarat, the northern neighbour of Mahārāṣṭra, was not slow to discern this defect. It has enshrined its observation in the satirical saying 'dakṣiṇni nāri, soḷa hāth sāḍi, paṇa aḍadhi tāñga ughāḍi', which means 'a Dakṣiṇi lady wears a sāri sixteen hands in length and yet exposes half the shanks'.[14]

A third garment of the nature of the scarf was not a regular component of the sartorial ensemble of a Mahārāṣṭrian lady. Yet on all formal and ceremonial occasions ladies of Brahmin and similar classes, specially in the districts above the 'ghāṭ's, used to wear a shawl which was draped over the head with its flaps hanging over the shoulders in front, where the two ends were held in the two hands. The third garment, the scarf, called either 'śāla' or 'śelā' was thus considered to be a complement in the elite and Brahmanic costume of the ladies.

The costume of some special groups is of more than ordinary interest for sartorial history. The couple figuring in picture 361 is from the Wāraḷi tribe and illustrates in its dress the general pattern of costume of tribal people of Mahārāṣṭra, who have been partially assimilated with the plains people. The costume of the lady brings into clear relief the neatness with which the 'sāri' is draped, a feature also seen further east as far as the Santal Paraganas. It is worn fundamentally in the same manner as that of other classes, among whom the hind pleats are necessary, but the 'sāri' is not drawn overhead. The difference lies in this that the 'sāri', which is smaller than the standard one, is worn short, hardly reaching below the knees; and the front pleats are so few and so tucked up that there are hardly any left to dangle about. This neatness and shortness of 'sāri'-wear is chtaracteristic of females of many working as well agricultural classes of Mahārāṣṭra (364). This feature leads me to the peculiar dress of the Sonkoli ladies met with round about Bombay leaving an abiding impression on their observers. The illustration in picture 365 is only a poor representative. The 'sāri' sported by a Sonkoli woman is generally nine yards in length. The breadth though as full as that of the standard 'sāri' in draping is so handled that on the left side the 'sāri' does not reach below the calves. The hind pleats, being very tightly drawn in, rest closely in the divide

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of the buttocks. The extinguisher of the contour, the 'padara', of other Mahārāṣṭrian ladies, is in this mode of wear drawn tightly over the back and one end of it is tucked in at the front. Some surplus portion of the 'sāri' which is wrapped round the waist almost forming a ridge, too, does not cover the lower part and leaves the contour of the buttocks uncovered. The portion of the 'sāri' coming over from the right thigh is not pleated but is simply drawn in a fine fan-like sweep over the other part of the 'sāri' and the abdomen and is tucked at the left waist. The whole front view gives the appearance of a pleatless garment with a sweep of the 'sāri' raising only a few obliquely disposed folds. The other portion of the 'sāri' is taken over the bosom and the left shoulder as in the case of other Mahārāṣṭrian ladies, with the difference about the disposal of the dangling end mentioned above. They wear a 'coḷi' of the same fundamental features as that of the other ladies of Mahārāṣṭra. Only their bodice has invariably much longer sleeves, ending a little below the elbows, and a longer back and front which are not long enough to cover the entire upper body. Over all this they wear a real scarf, whose dimensions are almost like those of the Panjabi scarf. They throw it almost negligé over their back and bosom, lending greater charms to their ensemble. Before marriage, no portion of the 'sāri' is drawn over the bosom, i.e. no 'padara' in the Marathi parlance is taken, but the whole length of the 'sāri' is draped round the lower part of the body as in picture 364. This disposal not only makes the ridge round the waist much more bulky but enables the wearer to sport a few fine pleats dangling generally at the left waist; but among some—and here it may be noted that this latter mode of wearing the 'sāri' is met with among some of the Indian Christians, native to Bombay—at the right hip.

It is recorded in some literature of the last quarter of the 13th and the early part of the fourteenth centuries that the drawing of one part of the 'sāri' over the bosom and throwing its loose end over the back was the dress of a married woman. Girls before marriage, if they wore 'sāri's, draped them about themselves in such a manner that the whole length was wrapped round the lower part of the body below the waist. In Marāṭhi the expression 'padara yeṇẽ' means 'to have the first menses'. Sonkolis and some other groups like Agris have retained that custom till our own time. But the difference between the two modes of draping the lower part is great and significant, each being identical with the manner of wearing by married ladies of the respective group. Hence this mode of wear of the Sonkoli and other girls makes their lower costume identical with that of some of the ladies sculptured in early art. Some of the ladies in the Buddha Gayā sculptures, generally ascribed to

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the 1st century B.C., some of the bracket figures at Sanci, probably of the same age, some similar female sculptures from Mathura, perhaps of the 1st century A.D., the female sculptured on the pillar from Rājāsan and that on the serpent-bedded Visnu panel from Deogadh, both of about the 5th century A.D., all reveal their identity in the matter of the 'sāri'-draping with the woman illustrated in picture 364. Many times among the Kolis as well as among others the 'sāri' is very much shorter in length than the standard one. In Kolaba district such draping is dialectically known as 'sarakh'. It is tantalizing to see in the last word some connection with the Javanese 'sarong'.

The dress of the Sonkoli male is no less interesting and I have already drawn my reader's attention to his peculiar headgear and its curious affinities. Here I shall refer to his clothing for the lower part of the body. It consists of a square piece of cloth with cheque pattern in colours, mostly black and varieties of red. It is draped, as seen in picture 365, in such a manner that though the hind-tucking covers the divide of the buttocks, neither it, nor the loose front portion when its ends are tucked into the waist-string, covers them. In front the tightly drawn in part of the cloth, flattening the genitals in position is decently covered by the large surplus portion which dangles over it as a flap, its sides covering almost the mid-thighs and its diagonal edge hanging between the calves and even a little lower. The main interest of this sartorial habit of the Sonkoli male lies in the fact that such chequered lower garment, though not draped in such a manner, figures very largely in the paintings of Ajanta and that, too, on the bodies of very high personages. What is even more surprising is that this Sonkoli community, living in close proximity, and cultural contact with the fashionable people of the very modern city of Bombay, though it has changed much in other matters, as for example in that of the ornaments, shows hardly any inclination to modify its costume, female or male. A Sonkoli gentleman, who is a practising advocate in the Bombay Courts of law, is known to be wearing his Sonkoli lower garment at home with not only perfect nonchalance but also with active delight.

The 'sāri' is called either 'lugaḍẽ' or 'sāḍi'. Its lengthwise border is 'kāṭha' 'kināri' or 'dhāri'. The first two words occur in the languages of the Western and Central regions as names for the same feature, while the connection of the last word with the Uriyā term for the same feature, viz. 'dharḍi', is not at all remote. The breadthwise large border is 'padara', a word only met with in Gujarati as a rather rare occurrence. Both this word as well as 'pālava' denotes also the portion of the 'sāri'

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that going over the bosom and the shoulder dangles at the back. The word 'pālava' is attested in Gujarati, but in other Indo-Aryan languages the word for this feature as well as for the large breadthwise border is 'ācaḷa'. The hind pleats of the 'sāri' are 'kāsa', a word attested in other Indo-Aryan languages. But the word for front pleats, 'niryā' or 'miryā' is clearly connected with the Kannada word for the same, 'neri'. The portion of the pleats tucked in at the navel and forming a sort of a bundle is rather romantically called 'keḷē', banana. But the romantic imagery is common to Karnāṭaka too, where the same feature is termed 'bāḷekāy', plantain. The alternative Marāṭhi term 'paravanṭa', meaning currystone, because of its similarity with that article, describes the feature in very prosaic imagery.

We have noticed the difference in the connotation of the word 'candakaḷā' as it is prevalent in Gujarat and in Mahārāṣṭra. I shall now emphasize the fact by further describing the significance, particularly of one variety of it, in the sartorial ensemble of a Mahārāṣṭrian lady. In the folk-songs, whether current among the Chitpāvan Brahmins or among the Mahārs, much praise is lavished on this 'sāri'. We are told that it is a 'sāri' a lady likes to wear on and off, even when after years of use it has become a faded garment. The reason, as the folk-songs have it, is that it shows to advantage a fairish person. And it is the appreciation of the popular mind, though not distinctly expressed in words, that the black variety of it sets off even the dark body of a so-called black beauty. The other colour of the ground of a 'candrakaḷā' 'sāri' can be red. But the borders in both cases are either red, or green, or red and green patterned in the particular manner called 'gaṅgājamni', i.e. of the style 'of the rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā'. The waters of the Gaṅgā are proverbially colourless white and those of the Yamunā dark or blue. Hence the expression 'gaṅgajamni' means 'of two colours, light and dark, joining together'. The place of 'cundaḍī' in Gujarata, particularly in Saurāṣṭra, is in Mahārāṣṭra occupied by 'kāḷī candrakaḷā'. Not that 'cundaḍī', or 'cunāḍi' as a folk-song calls it, is not known, but that such a variegated garment though liked is looked upon as proper for girls or younger females and is considered to lack the dignity of the 'kāḷī candrakaḷā' 'sāri'. In a folk- tale of heart-rending pathos, a specimen of much greater wickedness and cruelty than that recorded in the pathetic folk-song of Saurāṣṭra called 'leriyāni luṭālūṭa', the 'sāri' which is liked and demanded by a married woman of her husband is named 'kāsaī'. It seems to have been coloured red and not variegated like either 'cunaḍī' or 'leruyũ'. In the song the woman demands that her 'kāsaī' shall be coloured red by her husband in the blood of his own sister. The brother murders his sister and does the bidding of his wife and is afterwards struck with great remorse.

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Other varieties of 'sāri' without specific reference to either their borders or the body are: 'amolā', 'pātaḷa', 'sūryapāna' and 'vallarī'.

The importance of coloured and patterned borders in the female wear of Mahārāṣṭra is clearly brought out by the exceedingly large number of terms either qualifying or directly describing a 'sāri' listed in the lexicon. Thus 'asāvarikāṭha' 'sāri' is one whose borders have the pattern of 'asāvari' plant woven into them; 'aṣṭaputrī', a 'sāri' put on by the bride at the wedding rites, which may be merely coloured yellow with turmeric, is also the same garment whose ground is white and borders dyed yellow with turmeric; a 'bāvadhani' 'sāri' is simply one with rather wide borders, the borders of 'sāri's in general use by Mahārāṣṭrian ladies being not very broad—not broader than two or three inches—while those of the 'sāri' named 'bāvadhanī' or 'hubḷidhārwāḍī', meaning a 'sāri' from the town of Hubli or Dharwad in the Karnāṭak, are broader than this, measuring about four to six inches. 'Gomikāṭhī' 'sāri' is so-called because of the particular design in its borders. 'Kṛṣṇagujarī', 'labāḍanakaśī', 'lavaṅgaphūla', 'nāraḷikāṭha', 'ramākāṭhī', 'rudrakāṭhī' are terms each based on some peculiarity of the borders of these 'sāri's. Even more interesting and significant are the words which refer to the speciality of the large breadthwise border, which is called in Marāṭhi the 'padara'. Thus 'gaṇḍeripadara' is a term applied as an adjective to a 'sāri' whose breadthwise showy border bears stripes in dark and whitish colour or in gold or simple thread alternately, while 'ṭopapadara' refers to one which is dyed in its whole length and breadth in one colour, presenting to the eyes a large block of coloured cloth. A 'laphphedāra' 'sāri' is one which has a very broad breadthwise border in gold or silver thread. 'Sāri's are distinguished according as they are either of silk or cotton and also with reference to the colour and design in their body. 'Pitāmbara', 'paiṭhaṇī', 'śelā', 'śelāri', 'śālu' all denote silk 'sāri's which are characterized by some other feature distinctive to each. The most important division of 'sāri's on the basis of the design in the ground is that denoted by the term 'rāstā'. 'Rāstā' 'sāri's have all of them lengthwise threads of different colours contrasting with the colour of the ground of the 'sāri'. Thus a 'rāstā' is 'sonasaḷī' if these threads are of golden-coloured silk. 'Cācaṇī', 'kaḷasapākī', 'kaṇerī', 'pivaḷē', 'pophaḷī', rājāvaḷa' are 'sāri's with particular colour and design in their grounds.[15]

With the British set-up the change noticeable elsewhere also came over Mahārāṣṭrian costume. In the male dress the black cap, oval in shape and called the Hungarian, slowly perched itself on the heads of respectable and elderly people and became the official headgear both of College-or High School-going boys as well as

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of young educated clerks. The round cap, too, was donned by some classes of people. Slowly but steadily the longish black cap was superseding the round as well as the Hungarian cap. The trousers established itself as the nether garment of officers and even of ambitious clerks. But the garment could not supplant the 'dhoti' which retained its respectability for ceremonial wear as well as its popularity as an informal dress. The 'pairaṇ', or the tunic-like garment, was replaced by the shirt more and more. The long coat, like the one already referred to, became known as the 'phārśi-fashion coat' and established itself as the pre-eminent guardian of the respectability of the upper part of the male body. The short coat of European pattern became associated either with trousers and the European ensemble or with the fashionable student-world. In female costume the most important change was the introduction of the blouse, which, as opposed to the 'coli' or bodice, fully covered the back and the upper part of the abdomen. In the matter of sleeves though the long variety was tried it did not oust the shorter sleeves ending well above the elbows. Late in this period, in the first quarter of the 20th century, as a result of the sartorial experiments and ensemble of the great actor-singer Mr. Nārāyaṇrāo Rājahaṁsa, usually known by his pet title of 'Bālagandharva', whose acting of the female part was exquisite, there came about two important modifications in the costume of Mahārāṣṭrian ladies, first in Bombay City and then among the College-going girls elsewhere and finally among the more progressive classes. One of them was concerned with removal of the well-known defect of Mahārāṣṭrian 'sāri'-wearing with hind pleats, wherein female legs from the calves upto the knee-curve or even a little above it got exposed from behind. Using the European garters as a simple device to catch the edges ladies neatly covered their legs. The other defect is common to the modes of wearing the 'sāri', current in Mahārāṣṭra, Karnāṭaka and Āndhradeśa and consists in the bundle of the tucked-in ends of the front pleats at the navel, called by whatever romantic or prosaic name, presenting a fair protuberance at a wrong place. Under the inspiration of Mr. Rajahaṁsa acting the part of a woman, progressive or fashionable ladies began to tuck in the ends in the manner in which males tuck in theirs. The ends, being turned under the wrap of the 'sāri', only slightly raise the level at the navel but do not produce any protuberance.

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N.B.—For numbers 10-15 in the text please read 2-7.

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2. Dalton, pp. 8, 9; 27, 41, 50, 66, 88; *Census of India 1931, Bengal Report*, p. 516.
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5. C. P. Gaz., *Raipur*, p. 118; C. P. Gaz., *Balaghat*, pp. 127-8; C. P. Gaz., *Mandla*, p. 99; C. P. Gaz., *Seoni*, p. 67; Russell, III, pp. 122, 199.
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7. *Bhandara D. G.*, p. 68; *Chanda D. G.*, pp. 125-6; *Akola D. G.*, pp. 151-53; *Ahmadnagar D. G.*, pp. 88, 122, 173; *Poona D. G.*, pp. 103-4, 159, 287; *Sholapur D. G.*, p. 88; *Satara D. G.*, p. 47; *Belgaum D. G.*, p. 231; *Savantavadi G.*, p. 409; Saligram, Pt. III, pp. 1, 29, 57, 77, 78, Pt. IV, pp. 22, 37, 39, 54, 55, 56, 58, 60, 64, 69, 72, 73; Sane, Pt. I, pp. 117-19, 149, 159, 161, 165-69, 172, 174, 176-77, Pt. II, pp. 31-34.

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9

Recent and Contemporary (contd.):

Southern, South-Eastern and South-Western Regions

When one passed from Mahārāṣṭra into Karnāṭaka one entered a sartorial region which was not markedly different from the one which one had left, if the entry was from Belgaum, or Kolhapur. The chief difference in the male ensemble was the almost total absence of the Brahmin turban of Mahārāṣṭra as the head-dress. The freshly folded turban or the 'rumāl', whose close associations with the Tāmil word 'urumāli' are not likely to be overlooked, was much more voluminous than that current in Mahārāṣṭra (368, 369, 370). The other term which signified such a headgear is 'peṭa', whose affinity with the word 'phēṭā' of many Indo-Aryan languages is evident. The general expression for head-dress, which ranges from a mere rag to a huge turban, is 'muṇḍāsu'. I have already remarked upon this word in connection with the headgear of the Central region. Perhaps a garment for the upper part of the body separate from the scarf, the counterpart of the ancient close-fitting short coat or the tunic-like piece of attire, which we came across in Mahārāṣṭra under the names of 'bārābandi' and 'sadarā', was much more rare in the Karnāṭaka than in the former region, though its modification known as 'baṇḍi' was in use among lower classes (370). The scarf is known either by its Samskṛt name, 'uttarīya', or is termed 'śalye' which is clearly the same as Marāṭhi 'śelā'. Its mode of wear among non-Brahmanic classes is illustrated in pictures 368 and 370. Dress for the lower part was predominantly the same as in Mahārāṣṭra. The loose garment is called here either 'pance' or 'dhotra'. The latter word is the same as the 'dhoti' of most Indo-Aryan languages and 'dhotar' of Marāṭhi. The word 'dhoti' or 'dhotar' is generally traced to the Samskṛt past participle 'dhauta', meaning 'washed', and its noun-component, 'vastra', meaning 'cloth', so that 'dhautavastra' gives 'dhotra' or 'dhotar'. Among some of the classes of this region both the dimensions of the 'dhoti' as well as the mode of putting it on (370) are very interesting because of their affinities with those met with in the Ajanta paintings even among the higher classes and on the persons of some of the Vijayanagar and Nayak kings.

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The hind pleats whether of the male lower garment or of the female one are named 'kacce', which appears to have been derived from the Samskṛt word 'kakṣā'; from which too the terms for this feature in Indo-Aryan languages, 'kaccha', 'kāsa', are derived. 'Kacce' or its variant 'gacce' is met with in the three Dravidian languages, Kaṇṇada, Telugu, Tāmil. In the South-Western region, as we shall see, this feature of hind tucking is very rare; and in Malayālam, the language of that region, the one word which denotes some kind of hind tucking is apparently derived from a Samskṛt word which signified a whole garment and not a single feature of its wear. 'Kaupīna' in Samskṛt meant the small loin-cloth and its total wear which, in most Indian languages in latter days, is indicated by the word 'laṅgoṭa' and its variants. The Malayālam word 'konam' declares its affinities with 'kaupīna'. The front pleats are called 'neri', a word also attested in Tāmil.

Ladies of Karnāṭaka, excepting those of the Brahmin class, do not wear the hind pleats, so that their front pleats—the garment being as long and broad as that sported in Mahārāṣṭra—are fuller and dangle rather low. With the exception of Brahmin ladies, most females drew a portion of the 'sāri' overhead. All draw the upper portion from the right side over the bosom and the left shoulder, so that the loose end hangs on the right back or shoulder as in Mahārāṣṭra (367, 368). There is one feature, which, however, is not noticeable, being hidden from view by the upper wraps of the 'sāri', that deserves mention here. It is significant in regard to the hind tucking of the female lower garment, observed in Mahārāṣṭra and to be met with both in Āndhradeśa and Tāmilnād. A married woman whenever she is engaged in some religious function has to draw the inner loose end of her 'sāri' to the back between the legs and tuck it in there, thus providing herself with a sort of inner 'laṅgoṭa'. This tucking is appropriately called 'oḷagacce', 'inner tucking'. If higher caste ladies have thus to cover up their genitalia closely, on religious occasions, among some of the labouring classes the hind tucking of the 'sāri' gathers, employing a fairly large portion of the 'sāri' for this operation, is a regular custom. This is the custom current also among Telugu labouring classes. The borders of this garment become broader in this region than in Mahārāṣṭra. The bosom is covered among all classes by a bodice of the same general pattern as that worn by Mahārāṣṭrian ladies (367, 368).

The lower garment worn by ladies is called 'sire' or 'sire', whose affinity with the words 'cīra' and 'sāri' need not be stressed. The border is 'ãca' which is evidently a truncated form of the North-Indian and Samskṛt 'aṁcala', meaning the loose end.

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The Kannadigas have changed its meaning in adapting the word. Here there is clear separation from not only Mahārāṣṭra but also from other areas. The breadth-wise broad border which serves the purpose of an improver is known as 'seragu' or 'saraga', whose echoes we have already heard in some areas of the North. The bundle of the ends of the front pleats tucked in at the navel is known as 'bāḷekāyi', banana. The imagery employed is the same as that in Mahārāṣṭra, the actual name being different in accordance with respective linguistic usage. The bodice is denoted by the word 'kuppas' or 'kupsa', which is nothing but the vernacularized form of the Samskṛt word 'kūrpāsaka', meaning a bodice. In the matter of naming the breast-garment again the Kannadigas, by retaining the Samskṛt word, have secured their distinctiveness in sartorial terminology. Folk-songs of this area refer with zest to particular pattern of borders of 'sāri' and to ornate bodices.[1]

The costume of the Āndhras in the northern and eastern parts of Āndhradeśa reveals some affinities with the dress common in the Eastern region. The common features, along with some others peculiar to Āndhradeśa, will be met with in Tāmilnāḍ. The male lower garment everywhere in the area among the respectable classes is of course the 'dhoti', which in its standard form here is not more than four yards in length. The simplest mode of wearing the garment is to wrap it round the loins holding it in position by the side tucks without any gathers or pleats either at the back or in front. When thus worn it hangs as a straight gatherless skirt like the 'lungi' and is known in Telugu as the 'goḍakaṭṭu' manner of wearing the 'dhoti'. But this is not a very favourite mode here though in Tāmilnāḍ it is the most frequent manner among the higher classes. The most common mode of wear among the Āndhras is called in their language the 'pancakaṭṭu' or 'pancagaṭṭu' mode of wearing. The smaller portion of the garment is taken from the left side and the longer from the right. The end of the portion on the left side lies thus below that from the right side. The lower and the hanging edge of it is drawn up behind between the legs by catching hold of the hanging end at about the level of the knees and the puckers with which the dangling portion is drawn up behind are tucked at the middle of the waist there. The lower end of this edge now hangs behind loose. It was considered rather fashionable or even respectable to tuck some width of this fluttering end at the left hip so that from the divide of the buttocks to left waist there was provided a second covering and a fluttering end at the back side of the left waist (374). The larger portion of the 'dhoti' coming over from the right side, after a little drawn-up pucker thereof is tucked up at the left waist to complete the first wrap of the garment round the waist, is now disposed lengthwise (372, 373), and not

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breadthwise as is the standard custom in most other areas so far studied. The pleats are formed by holding the length of the remaining portion of the 'dhoti' so that there occurs a large bunch of them dangling above or just below the knees, and only a few oblique and curvilinear folds run below their ends and from there over the right lower leg or even the ankle. The hind tucking is called 'goci' in which one can see the reflection of the Kannaḍa 'kacce' or 'gacce' which with its variant 'kaccam' proclaims its ultimate origin to be Samskṛtic. The front pleats, whether of the variety stated above or of the other type to be mentioned below, are 'kuccelḷu', whose relationship with the Tāmil term for the same feature, 'kosavu' or 'kusavam', is hard to doubt. The other term for the same feature, 'maḍata', appears to be peculiar to Telugu. This mode of wearing is not only the routine manner with most of the people but is also good for formal or religious occasions with them, excepting only Brahmins and similar other classes. The latter, on occasions of ceremonial or ritual, have to put on their 'dhoti' in the standard manner of the Brahmanic wear of that garment in the areas so far studied (371). This mode, in which the hind tucking is formed by regular pleats leaving no fluttering end and the front pleats are not only formed out of the breadth of the garment but also are the result of double handling, as in Mahārāṣṭra for example, is known as 'biḷḷagoci'. For the upper part of the body a scarf was the much more general attire, and was almost an invariable component of the sartorial ensemble of the higher classes. Needless to say on ceremonial or religious occasions it is a prescribed item of dress. It is known as 'paibaṭṭa', a word not met with in any other language. Non-Brahmanic classes, as in picture 372, often sport it in a contrary manner of that of its Brahmanic wear. In the matter of head-dress the north-eastern part of the area approximates to the Eastern region in dispensing with a regular headgear, but in the south-western part contiguous with Karnāṭaka the freshly folded turban, which is very commonly white in colour, tends to be more voluminous than even that in the latter area (372, 375). The Brahmins, it appears, all over Āndhradeśa preferred moving about bare-headed than otherwise. The lower classes, on the other hand, used a small piece of cloth to wind it round the head so as to cover it against the sun. Whether it is the fine, rich and voluminous turban or this last apology for it, it is known either as 'tālāpāgā' or 'taḷepāga', the last member of which is our close acquaintance, 'pāgaḍi', in a shortened form.

The lower garment used by Āndhra females is generally shorter than that favoured by Karnāṭaka and Mahārāṣṭra women, being eight, rather than nine yards. It is called 'cīra' or 'cīre', which term reminds one not only of the 'sīre' of the

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Kannaḍigas but also of the Samskṛt 'cīra', meaning a garment or cloth, and perhaps also of the Tāmil 'ṣelai', an alternative term for 'sāri'. The standard mode of wearing it, current among non-Brahmanic groups, is known as 'goḍakaṭṭu', a term which we have known to be applied to the male lower garment when worn in the 'lungi' fashion. In the case of the 'sāri' of course there is some difference which is not fundamental. Whereas in the 'goḍakaṭṭu' style of wearing the 'dhoti' there are no front pleats even, in the case of 'sāri' worn in the self-same mode there are the front pleats which are called either 'kuccelḷu' or 'maḍata' (376). The portion of the pleats tucked in at the navel is also denoted by the term 'kuccelḷu'. The mode of tucking in is the same as in the case of the 'dhoti' and hence no protuberance or bundle-like object is formed and named. The surplus portion of the 'sāri' to be drawn up over the upper part of the body is sported in either of the two ways which we have so far met with but only separately in different regions. Here both of them are current, the one among some castes, the other among some others. Among the Brahmins this portion, called 'pamiṭa', 'paiṭa' or 'vallevaṭu', is drawn up as in Mahārāṣṭra and Karnāṭaka from the right thigh up the bosom and taken over the left shoulder and the end either allowed to dangle at the back or its right edge drawn in front under the right arm and tucked in at the left waist (376). Among many other castes it is drawn from the left thigh, taken over the bosom and the right shoulder and then treated as in the other mode with the difference that the loose-end is drawn across the left hip and the edge tucked in at the right waist (375). In both modes, contrary to Karnāṭaka practice, it is not customary to draw any portion of the garment over the head. This feature appearing in picture 377 is rather unusual. In this feature the Āndhra female costume resembles on the one side that of a section of Mahārāṣṭrian females and on the other that of Tāmil ones. The terms for both this portion of the 'sāri' and its showy breadthwise border given above are not met with in any other language. The word for lengthwise border, on the other hand, is almost the same as in Kannaḍa, being 'ãcu' for 'ãca' in the latter.

The other mode of putting on the 'sāri' is, as in the case of 'dhoti'-wearing, known as 'biḷḷagoci' and differs from the manner just described only in the fact that a few of the front pleats are drawn up between the legs behind by their lower ends and tucked in there (377, 378). It is the mode adopted at the wedding rites among some castes and is believed to have been copied from the manner favourite with the immigrant Mādhva Brahmins. It is otherwise called 'maḍata'. It is resorted to among Brahmins and some other classes at the wedding rites only and is to be clearly distinguished from a mode of 'sāri'-wear known as 'maṭṭagoci' commonly current

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among some labouring classes (379). This latter mode is 'goḍakaṭṭu' turned into a functionally needed tucked-up wear and not a separate mode of putting on the 'sāri'. The front pleats of the 'goḍakaṭṭu' mode are drawn up between the legs behind and tucked in at the back. Then the side-hangings of the 'sāri' are taken up and similarly tucked in at the sides. Thus a sort of a divided short skirt is produced, giving the wearer complete freedom of movement and security against damage to the garment.

Brahmin ladies adopt another mode of wearing the 'sāri', which need not be distinguished as the third mode, because it is only a variation of the first mode, with which we have become familiar as practised by Brahmin ladies of Karnāṭaka on occasions. It is however separately named in Telugu, being called 'kāśakaṭṭu' or 'kāśapūśe'. In this mode the inner end of the left side portion of the 'sāri' is drawn up between the legs at the back and tucked in there. This is formal, and ritual manner of 'sāri'-wear, which, in the three Dravidian areas of Karnāṭaka, Āndhra and Tāmilnāḍ, is common among the Brahmins. Its variation in the last area is either only an elaboration of the practice current in other two areas or the prototype of later simplification. This is also the routine mode among the aristocracy of the land.

It is to be noted that the favourite colour of the 'sāri' in the north-eastern part of Āndhradeśa is white, which as we have seen is the colour most current in the Eastern and parts of the South-Central regions. As in Karnāṭaka most ladies of the respectable classes wear a bodice for the upper part of the body. It is of the same pattern as the Mahārāṣṭrian and the Karnāṭaka bodice, fastening in front just below the breasts with a knot tied out of the edges of the two flaps. It figures in Telugu folk-songs as a complement of the 'sāri'. Its name is the same as that in Tāmil with appropriate variation, being 'ravikalu' in the former and 'ravikkai' in the latter. Yet as we shall see presently its currency in daily use in the two areas is vastly different.[2]

In the Tāmilnāḍ most grown up males must wear next to the skin at the waist a piece of cloth which when worn in that manner in Indo-Aryan areas is known as 'laṇgoṭa', a word not unknown in Tāmilnāḍ but generally replaced in ordinary language by 'komānam' or 'tāśile'. It does hardly anything more than securely cover the privities. Over this is worn the usual piece of white cloth with some coloured border to it known to us as 'dhoti'. This garment is known in this area by the name of 'veṣṭi', which word is clearly a Samskṛt derivative from a root whose meaning gives it the general sense of something that is intended to be

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wrapped round. In this general sense it will be met with as the second member of a compound word for another piece of male apparel. But the wrapper par excellence being the garment for the lower part of the body, 'veṣṭi' by itself means the 'dhoti'. It is worn in three different modes, one of which is not only Brahmanic but sanctimonious, that being the mode used by the Brahmins invariably at ritual and sanctimonious occasions. Some other classes have imitated them in putting it on at certain occasions like marriage etc. This mode of wearing the 'veṣṭi' or the 'dhoti' is known by the name of 'pancakacche' or 'pancagacche' (385). First, second, fourth and fifth individuals on the observer's left in picture 381 have worn their 'dhoti' in this manner. It is a mode of wear in which there are five tuckings. The expression which is traced to the Samskṛt 'pañcakaccham', is not met with in any of the modern Indo-Aryan languages. This strange phenomenon appears to be due to the fact that whereas in areas like that of Mahārāṣṭra this mode of wearing the 'dhoti' was the usual way of Brahmins and therefore did not require to be specifically mentioned, in the Telugu and Tāmil areas it was an importation which had to be acclimatized and had, therefore, to be a specifically named feature. As its description given in the Telugu section applies here too I need not dilate upon it. The more common mode of wearing the 'veṣṭi' or the 'dhoti' among Brahmanic and similar classes is also the same as we came accross in the Āndhradeśa (383). It is known here as 'trigacche' or 'trikaccham'. The expression is of Samskṛtic origin traced in semi-sacred literature and means a mode of wear wherein there are only three tuckings. The portion drawn up behind is tucked in there with one edge thereof without pleating the whole; and the front pleats are merely the folds of the portion treated lengthwise and tucked in only once. A local alternative term for this mode of wear, 'mūlagacche' or 'mūlakaccham', means 'a mode wherein there is only the original or principal tucking' without further secondary ones. Even this manner of wearing the lower garment necessitates a piece which is both long and wide, almost of the standard measure. Most people, however, of the working and similar classes sport a much smaller garment to cover the lower parts of their bodies. They, therefore, wear it with the lower edge of the left portion of the garment drawn up between the legs behind and tucked in there, and with just a few gathers made with the right portion in front and tucked in at the navel. The wear thus sported covers the left mid-thigh and the right side upto about the knee cap, with a few frontal folds dangling in the middle or the surplus wrapped round the waist as in picture 380. This mode is known as 'kīḷapācī' or 'kilpācchi', by which name, too, another variety of wear, most common when at work, is designated. In this manner of wear, the lower edge of the front portion, too, whether pleated or otherwise, is drawn up between the legs behind and tucked in there by the side of

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the other tucking. It provides a sort of a supporter and a 'laṅgoṭa' for the waist and the privities. The most usual and hence the most characteristic mode of 'dhoti'-wear, however, is that affected by Brahmin and similar classes in daily routine which consists in doubling up the 'dhoti' breadthwise, thus halving its length, and simply wrapping it round the waist as in picture 382 and in the case of the third individual on the observer's left in picture 381. It is kept in its position with the help of tuckings or sometimes of a belt or a string. The wearer having the under covering for his privities is not very much concerned about the flapping ends of his garment. It is known in Tāmil as either 'ottevesṭi' or 'taṭṭāḍai'. The lexical word 'tutti' may reflect the influence of the Northern 'dhoti'. We have known its use in other parts of India and know its wear outside our country too. And I have called it the 'lungi'. It would appear to be even more common here than in the Āndhradeśa.

For the upper part of the body a scarf known either by its Samskṛt name of 'aṅgavastram', 'body-cloth', or by the compound expression of 'urumāliveṣṭi', 'wrapper', was sported by upper classes. This piece, however, was generally wrapped round the waist, more or less in the manner seen on the sculptures of Sanci, Amaravati or Nagarjunikonda, by Brahmanic classes when within the temples or when actually bowing to the deities therein installed. The Brahmanic classes in addition carried with them a small kerchief dangling at the waist with which to clean any spot where the wearer would like to squat. The typical short close-fitting coat-jacket of the upper classes of Mahārāṣṭra and Western, Central and Northern India seems to have been conspicuous by its absence.

Brahmanic classes of Tāmilnāḍ preferred to go about bare-headed as much as the Brahmanic and upper classes of the Āndhradeśa and of the Eastern region of India. Other classes generally covered their heads with a headgear which was freshly folded rather than pre-formed (380). Its size and volume varied both with the provenance as well as the nature of the caste-grouping. Thus in the districts bordering on Karnāṭaka and Āndhradeśa it tended to be voluminous while in the districts remote from this area it was an apology for this grand article, being merely a small piece of cloth just wrapped about the head. Turban is either 'talepā' or 'muṇḍāsi'. Lexicons testify to the influence of Northern 'pheṭā' in the listed word 'petta', 'turban'.

The lower garment worn by females in Tāmilnāḍ may vary from about seven yards to about ten yards in length, the variation depending on the manner of wearing

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it, current in the caste or at the stage of life. The most standard mode which is named by Brahmin women 'maḍiśālu', 'pure 'sāri'-wearing' (386), requires a garment not less than nine yards in length. Irrespective of its length the garment is known as either 'āḍaī', 'puḍavai' or 'śelai'. In the last we can see the reflection of the Indo-Aryan word 'śelā' or 'śyālu'. The inner end of the cloth, after it is taken round the waist once, is generally drawn up behind from the front and its edge tucked in. It is known as 'kocu'. The lexical terms 'kuccu' and 'kuccai' for folds of a woman's cloth may also be noticed here and their relationship to the Telugu 'kuccellu' for identical sartorial feature may be stressed. The feature offers a parallel to the similar practice of Kannaḍiga ladies on ritual occasions. In addition, ladies generally wear a small undergarment of the type of 'laṅgoṭa' or loin-cloth. The pleats called 'kosavu', 'kusavu' or even 'koycakam', are hidden under a wrapping of the garment so that only their lower ends upto about six inches or so are visible. More often than not they are worn on the left hip so that their ends dangle through the wrapping of the garment behind at the left ankle. Among some castes they are worn in a similar manner at the right hip, while among very few they are sported right at the back-centre. This last is also the manner in which Koḍagu ladies of Coorg wear their lower garments. And the local people there have invented a story to account for this mode of 'sari'-wear, which is very unusual among the people among whom the Koḍagus now find themselves. Most often and among most castes, the surplus portion of the garment, which is drawn over the bosom, is drawn from the left side over the bosom and the right shoulder whence from over the back its end is brought over the left side and the edge tucked in at the right hip in front (389, 390). Sometimes and among few castes the surplus portion is treated in just the opposite direction (386, 388). We have met with this feature of managing the surplus portion of the 'sāri' in Āndhradeśa and have seen that in the Kannaḍa area it is almost universally carried over from the right hip to the bosom and thence thrown over the left shoulder behind. It appears that in Āndhradeśa, of the two modes that which is the homologue of the Kannaḍa mode is by far the more common wear. In Tāmilnāḍ, however, the opposite mode preponderates.

The other mode of wearing the 'sāri', known in Telugu as 'goḍakaṭṭu' was favoured by few castes and by Brahmin and similar class ladies only on non-formal and non-ritual occasions (391). It is called 'māmbayakaṭṭu' when there is no intention of disparaging the mode. Otherwise it is rather looked down upon as an importation and then named 'telaṅgakaṭṭu', 'the mode of 'sāri'-wearing current among the Telugu people', the suggestion being that it is non-indigenous to Tāmilnāḍ.

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The disparaging attitude sometimes used to gather strength and become condemnatory, when this manner of wearing the 'sāri' would be described as the 'tevḍyākaṭṭu', 'the manner of 'sāri'-wear proper for prostitutes'. I have drawn my readers' attention to the idea current in Mahārāṣṭra that prostitutes or public women had no right to fold and tuck in the hind pleats. To have no folds at the back protecting the modesty of a woman was the mark and practice of public women, who had no such modesty to keep. The expression 'māmbayakaṭṭu' embodies the enthusiastic and romantic attitude of the Tamil people towards this manner of wearing the 'sāri'. In the standard mode of 'sāri'-wear favoured by Tamil ladies the puckers or the pleats are so held in position and so far concealed from view that there is neither any shapely tucking of their upper end nor is that to be seen. It is only in the 'māmbayakaṭṭu' mode of wearing that the upper end of the puckers is tucked in so that its shape is visible at the front centre. We have seen how according to the variation in its shape this feature has been variously named. While the Kannaḍigas imagine it to be of the shape of a banana the Tamilians fancy in it a mango, 'māmbaya' meaning 'mango'. The mode of wearing the 'sāri' in which the puckers are tucked in the shape of a mango is 'māmbayakaṭṭu'. The pleats, being frontal and over the wrapping, find an appreciative mention in folk-songs. When the pleats are thus worn in front they are styled 'munkosavu' as opposed to 'pinkosavu' the expression denoting them when worn otherwise. The surplus portion of the 'sāri' in this mode of wearing is always worn in the Mahārāṣṭrian or Kannaḍiga fashion, brought up from the right side and then carried over the bosom and thrown behind over the left shoulder and brought forward under the right arm. As in Āndhradeśa here too ladies do not carry their 'sāri's over their heads. The portion of the 'sāri' that goes over the upper part of the body is called 'mārāpu' which is thus the equivalent of Marāṭhi 'padara', Telugu 'pamiṭa' and Kannaḍa 'seragu' but shows no relationship with any of them. The lengthwise borders as well as the breadthwise one of Tamilian 'sāri's are very much wider than those of the 'sari's of either the Kannaḍa or the Mahārāṣṭrian ladies. The word for the breadthwise border is 'vitun talaippu', while for the lengthwise one is 'karay'.

The upper part of the body was generally not covered with another piece of apparel, though its particular pattern and design is famed in Tamil folk-songs. The term for the garment, 'ravikkai' or 'iravikkai' is hardly distinguishable from the Telugu word 'ravikalu' for the same. It is conceded that it is a recent importation from northern areas.[3]

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The British regime brought on more or less the same changes as in other areas. In the case of females the bodice began to be more general. The Eurôpean style blouse could not get on as quickly as in areas where already the bodice habit was deeply planted. The Māmbayakaṭṭu mode of 'sāri'-wear began to be favoured more and more. Picture 387 illustrates the result of this change in the dress of an unmarried girl.

Malayālam-speaking area, the South-West region of my scheme, even when entered from the side of Tāmilnāḍ presented a scene of comparative nudity. Small wonder then that visitors from outside India describing the people of that region from about the 12th century of the Christian era to about contemporary times depicted them as wearing the scantiest of dress, hardly more elaborate than what was required to cover the private parts. Even in this comparative nudity of the people the complete dominance of white colour in the few pieces of apparel the populace sported evokes one's curious attention, which may find satisfaction either in the theory that the extreme solar radiation of the region has dictated it or, if it is more fastidious, in the theory that it is the consequence of some cultural or ethnic affinity now not clearly traceable. Anyway the sartorial habits of the Malayālam-speaking people afford the greatest contrast to those of the adjacent areas, particularly to those of the Kannaḍa one.

The male lower garment, which is pure white in colour, is called 'muṇḍu' and is simply wrapped round without either front or hind pleats in what I have called the 'lungi' fashion. It is illustrated in picture 392, where it is interesting to observe the exiguousness of the 'dhoti' of even the bridegroom, the person with the open parasol. This is the common mode affected by all non-Brahmin higher classes, when some of them do not wear a pair of short drawers. This garment used to be about two and a half yards in length and about one and a half yards in breadth. Evidently it was but a poor representative of the same garment as sported further north and east. The Brahmins also wear their 'muṇḍu' in the above manner on all but formal and ritual occasions. On these latter occasions they wear their lower garment in the strict Brahmanic mode with both pleats properly folded and tucked in. The first mode is known as 'tattu' a word which does not appear to be entirely unrelated to the Tamil word 'taṭṭaḍai', though its connotation is different, and the latter Brahmanic one is known as 'thattuḍukkala'. The garment is naturally larger and approaches its standard dimensions. It also has small lengthwise coloured borders. All wear a loin-cloth or 'laṅgoṭa' underneath and call it 'konam', the counterpart of the Tamil

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'komāṇam'. Are these words related in someway to the Samskṛt 'kaupīna'? Bare-headedness was almost universal in this area, only here and there some people used to wrap a small piece of cloth over their heads and the royalty used to wear a turban of Moghul affinity. The Nambudri Brahmins wear over the upper parts of their bodies an apology for the 'dupaṭṭā', or scarf, worn by similar classes of other areas, which they call 'thorthumundu' (392).

Ladies of this area like their Tamil sisters wear a small loin-cloth under their lower garment, which is white and named 'tuni' a term for which I have not discovered a cognate in any of the other languages. Most ladies belonging to other than Brahmin and Kṣatriya classes were by law required to keep the upper parts of their bodies uncovered. It was an affront in general to the upper classes and the society dominated over by them for the ladies of the lower classes to wear any clothing above the waist. Naturally one came across unusual female nudity in this part of the country, almost all the women to be seen in public places having bare bodies above their waists. Most ladies of Nāyar and lower classes wore their lower garment, 'tuni', in the 'lungi' fashion, reminding one of some of the pictures of the Ajanta caves and of some of the sculptures of the Sanci-stupa. The garment too was a diminntive of the similar garment worn in other areas, its dimensions being two and a half yards by about one and a half yard. Both in colour and in dimensions as well as in its wear the male and the female lower garments were thoroughly interchangeable. Brahmin ladies used to wear a much bigger garment, about ten cubits in length, to cover the lower parts of their bodies. It was not only wrapped round but parts of it were pleated and tucked both at the back and in front centrally. The frontal tucking gave rise to the bundle-shaped protuberance at the navel (393), which as we have seen was specifically named in some other areas. The whole length of the garment was exhausted in wrapping it round the lower part and no surplus portion of it was carried over the bosom, which, when going out, the subject covered with another loose piece of white cloth. The ensemble (393) reminds one of many sculptures of the Sanci and the Nagarjunikonda stupas. The difference in final appearance resulted from the use of a second piece of cloth and its disposition. The ladies of Sanci, Mathura and Nagarjunikonda did sport a scarf but though it was very much more voluminous than that used by Nambudri ladies, it was disposed round the loins with a huge knot coquettishly placed on one hip and left the bosom and the parts of the body above the navel quite bare. The Nambudri, Kṣatriya, and Nayar, ladies used their scarf as a covering for the upper part of the body as well as to serve as a second wrapper for the waist and the loins. This upper cloth was wrapped round the

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breasts and went under the arm-pits (394). In its lower reaches it covered the body as far as the thighs. The manner of wearing this garment is reminiscent both of the Toda ladies (397, 398) as well of some of the ladies of the Ajanta frescoes.

The British impact affected this area, too, but as in other areas the resulting practice, being a modification of the existing one, could not immediately resemble in its final ensemble the costume of other areas. The bare-head practice could not disappear, nor was the 'topi' much in evidence. The coat was more of an office excrescence than a regular item of attire. The females toyed with the Indian breast-garment, the 'coli', but did not adopt it wholesale. Later the European counterpart of it began to be sported by Nāyar and other ladies (395, 396). Apparently the Nambudri ladies proved impervious to both the pieces of attire for a long time.[4]

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10

Conclusion

The history of Indian costume unravelled in the preceding pages shows that dress like other items of culture is amenable to change, however slow it may be. From one point of view, if the dress prevalent in Northern India is taken as the type, the changes in Indian costume during the last two thousand years or so are much greater than those in European costume during approximately the same period. The Celtic peoples one or two centuries before Christ were accustomed to a cut and tailored costume and their European descendants today wear a fundamentally similar ensemble. In India, whereas ladies of Vedic times principally based their dress on untailored garments and their descendants continued to do so at least till the second century B. C., the dress of North Indian ladies west of Allahbad, in recent and contemporary times consisted mostly of cut and tailored items of apparel.

The history has demonstrated the incorrectness of the general view regarding lack of fashion outside the costume of the modern industrial society of Europe and America, which has been current among sociologists and historians of taste and fashion of the last hundred and fifty years. If Athenian ladies of the 5th century B.C., indulging in the joys of fashion, had depended on the twist or the flap of their scarves and their chlamys as much as on the colour and design of the material and had also found courage to expose some portions of the body in a tantalizing manner, Indian ladies of Sanci, Bharhut and Mathura satisfied their quest for attraction through more or less the same channels, and had the additional advantage of their coquettish turban to further their cause. As I have pointed out, from time to time the males, too, within the limited margin of their scanty dress showed their readiness to submit to the dictates of taste and fashion. They were very much better placed than the Athenian gentlemen of the 5th century B.C. in this that unlike the latter they had a voluminous head-dress which allowed fairly wide scope for variations; and like their female counterparts they used the girdle, the belt, and some ornaments too. To look at the figures on the coins of the Gupta dynasty, to view the riot of colour and the multitude of sartorial variations still remaining in the

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caves at Ajanta is to be convinced of the strength and reality of the principle of fashion and the peoples' devotion to it.

The costume of Vedic times seems to have continued to be in vogue for a long time among the males. Though the sculptures of the 2nd and the first centuries before the Christian era do not portray males from elite society as clad in cut and tailored coats or coat-like tunics the testimony of the Greek observers of the 3rd century B. C. is quite clear on the point. Thus at the end of the first period the male costume, which, to judge by laconic references, was already differentiated in the east in some respects, gets more distinct so that we may speak of the eastern male costume as a variety by itself. Vedic females generally did not put on a head-dress, and in my view used to wear their lower garment in such a manner that a portion of it was also drawn over the upper part of the body. They donned, either in addition or on special occasions by way of change, a cut and tailored piece over the torso. As we have seen, in the earliest sculptures from Mathura to Jaggayyapeta and from Bodhagaya to Karle the elite females sported spacious, fashionable and even fantastic headgears. The upper parts of their bodies are bare, the lower garment only covering the body below the navel. Their second and upper garment, the scarf, seems, in its negligé disposal, intended more to set off their dishabille rather than to clothe any part of the body. Whether west of Mathura females contemporary with these sculptures had still kept on to their Vedic dress I am not sure. Perhaps they did as the sculptures of Hariti and Nagini two centuries or so later appear fully clad in a 'sāri'. If so, then by the end of our first period female costume, too, had developed two varieties fully differentiated: the western and the eastern. This first modification in the costume of the Indian people, which is noticeable in the Central and Eastern regions, may be due partially to the original differences in culture, and in part was the consequence of the climatic conditions.

The second landmark, recorded in the latter part of the second period, 320 B.C. to A.D. 320, which in its earlier part registered the first modification, presents eight distinct varieties of female dress. In the region west of the Ravi alone four varieties of female attire are clearly attested. The first and the most westerly was represented by the ensemble of a kind of trousers for the lower part and a more or less shaped shirt-like garment for the upper part with a scarf, worn in addition to satisfy more the dictates of fashion than to clothe any particular part of the body. The head, too, received some attention and was not allowed to remain utterly bare (52, 92, 93). The second variety of female costume appears on the

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person of the donatrix whose statue is reproduced in picture 45. It consisted of the skirt for the lower part of the body and either left the upper part bare or clothed it in some fine garment not clearly discernible on the figure under reference. The scarf is still an item of fashion rather than of clothing. Some covering for the head would appear to go with this ensemble too. In the third type of female dress the lower part of the body is swathed in the heavy folds of a thick 'sāri', the whole being utilised below the waist, giving the appearance of a heavy skirt. Other items of apparel are identical with those of the other ensemble as is manifest from the drapery of the statue of the queen of Huviṣka (39). The Garuda and Nagini sculpture from Sanghao figured in picture 41 attests to the use of full length 'sāri' draped by females west of the Ravi so as to swathe their whole body in its sweep and lovely oblique folds. Another garment, cut and tailored, also was used in combination to clothe the upper body. Sometimes for the lower part of the body the divided trousers-like piece of attire was used as an additional item (40). This gives us the fourth variety.

It is with wonder that a student of Indian culture views the costume of a milkmaid from the western part of the Central region figured in picture 95. The close-fitting whole-length frock, covering the body from the neck to the calves or the ankles, having sleeves extending either to the elbows or to the wrists, is a revelation, unexpected and not pleasing. The same attire appears on the person of a female described as an Ionian or 'Yavani'. This fifth variety of costume proved ephemeral as we know from the later history of dress in India. Another variety of costume seen in the sculptures of this region west of Allahbad is more or less a combination of two varieties met with in the region west of the Ravi. It consists of the 'sāri'-like garment which, perhaps being much shorter than the 'sāri' of the 'Nagini', hangs with very few folds. The portion of the 'sāri' going over the bosom and falling behind appears to be less voluminous than that of the Nagini ensemble. The upper part of the body is clothed in a short tunic worn below the sweep of the 'sāri'. The sleeves of the garment extend well beyond the elbows (81, 89). By far the most interesting ensemble encountered in this very important period in the sartorial history of India is the one which, by combining skirt, 'ghāgrā', with scarf worn 'sāri'-fashion and drawn overhead, and adding a short bodice, became the prototype of the female costume most predominant in the Western and Central regions from the 15th or the 16th century. This is the seventh variety of female dress met with in this period and became very general later on as the 'ghāgrā' and 'oḍhṇi' ensemble (98, 99).

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From Mathura in the west through Bharhut to Bodhagaya in the east and through Sanci to Nagarjunikonda in the south a distinct eighth variety of female costume consisted of the 'sāri', draped only on the lower part of the body, with or without a scarf but almost invariably in combination with a huge turban, (65, 72, 222, 224, 247, 251). A variation in the wear of the 'sāri' allowing for regular pleats being drawn up behind between the legs and tucked at the back, leaving a barrel-shaped small protuberance at the navel, later became very distinctive and may be counted as the ninth variety of female attire (60, 61, 62, 64, 148, 157). And we need not rule out a tenth variety consisting of a piece, draping the lower part of the body in what is latterly known as the 'lungi' mode of wear, without any pleats anywhere.

In the costume of males we encounter much less variation. The turban is characteristically the most fancied item of dignity and foppishness, whichever is the particular objective of its wearer. The lower part is more commonly, and east and south of Mathura almost universally, draped in a piece which got known later as 'dhoti'. Its frontal pleats were always carefully done, whether they were folded lengthwise or breadthwise. They were not always turned upon themselves but their ends were allowed to dangle at the feet. In some regions it was worn without hind pleats and then it seems another piece of cloth was wrapped over it so as to leave a wide curved open front for the 'dhoti'-pleats to show through and dangle. More commonly, however, the hind pleats were not only worn but care was taken to fold them neatly and flat. In the other main variety, a divided garment formed the covering for legs. With these trousers were associated two garments for the upper body, one resembling our flat-fronted more or less close-fitting tunic-like shirt and the other an open-fronted long coat with long sleeves. A peculiarly squat turban crowned such an ensemble. It formed the attire of the foreign kings who had acquired dominion over a large part of Western and Northern India. In contrast with this ensemble, in the other variety of male costume the scarf, or the 'dupaṭṭā', played a significant role. In the variations of its wear it provided a focus of fashionable disposal.

In the next period, as one expects from the politico-social history of the period narrated in the second chapter, though the riotous variety of costume continues, particularly in the earlier part of it, almost without definite provincial or regional demarcations, classical literature knows of only one female attire and of one male attire. In the male attire the foreign elements are assimilated and synthesized with

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the old items of dress. The new piece for the legs, the divided garment being a rather close-fitting pair of trousers more resembling the 'cuḍidāra pyjama' of later times than either the European trousers or the Muslim wide pyjama, was donned by the royalty, the members of the Imperial Gupta family, for some time but was finally given up in favour of the 'dhoti' of hallowed memory. The later 'bārābandi' with its upper flap fastening on the left side, the precursor of the 'aṅgarkhā' of later times, made its unmistakable appearance. What is even more interesting is that the picture of Prince Siddhartha in the Ajanta frescoes (262), synchronizing with the middle period of the Gupta age, appears like an early prototype of that of Jawaharlal Nehru of 1950, divested of his vest and cap. He is bare-headed and wears the 'cuḍidāra pyjama' and the prototype of what has been known for a generation as the 'Nehru shirt'. Siddhartha's bare-headness was either due to his personal idiosyncrasy or to the speciality of the occasion. Classical literature refers to fine head-covering as a regular piece of attire. Equally intriguing with Siddhartha's 'Nehru shirt' and 'cuḍidāra pyjama' is the head-covering of a gentleman of fair old age, which cannot but be recognised as the prototype of the later 'Gandhi cap' and that too in combination with the 'bārābandi' (275). The male costume of the politically free and strong, and the culturally classical India of the 5th and the 6th centuries A. D. was in many ways the precursor of the dress of the free but truncated India of 1950!

A peculiarity of the sartorial history is the preponderance of the 'lungi' mode of both the 'dhoti' as well as the 'sāri' seen in the paintings at Ajanta on the persons of high class ladies and gentlemen. May we associate it with the vanishing aberration of Buddhism?

In female costume, too, to some extent the early part of the period reminds one of the evolving national dress. The queen of a Gupta monarch appears in a neatly draped 'sāri' for the lower part, showing both the round protuberance at the navel as well as the fine lie and sweep of the ends of the front pleats. The bosom is covered by a short and chic bodice knotted in the centre in front, leaving some portion of the body exposed to view between the 'sāri' and the 'coli', a feature which as we shall see presently, is returning in the guise of fashionable variation. The 'dupaṭṭā' or scarf is used to dignified advantage (227). There appears to have been a close cap-like covering for the head. However we know from the royal sculptures from South India, later by about two centuries than the portraiture of the Gupta queen, that the female costume of the South must have materially differed from

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that of the North (309, 310). And Rājaśekhara writing in the 10th century A.D imparts to us the definite information that there were distinct varieties of female costume which were regionally demarcated. Whether there were only four regional costumes as he will have us believe or whether there were less or more varieties we cannot say. The fact is indubitable that by the 10th century A.D. the sartorial history of India, especially in its female section, had entered on the era of regional dress. In spite of regional differentiation, however, one mode of female attire which was stabilized in the North almost anticipates the era of national costume. It consisted in draping the whole body in one 'sāri', which covered both the lower as well as the upper part of the body, where a part of it also rested over the head, and framed the female face. It remained, with slight variations, the one sartorial ensemble almost common over the largest part of Indo-Aryan India. Though its modification in the Dravidian South was for a long time such as to mark out the South Indian female dress as a different variety altogether, in the few years preceding the attainment of freedom the evolving homogeneity of sartorial habit fixed upon the six or five yards 'sāri' swathing the whole body in one sweep without a part of it resting overhead as the attire of Indian females (405, 406). The wearing of hind pleats current in some regional costumes, too, dropped out of the field in this process. Such is the power of creative ages of a people that its products unite. They may not achieve this in contemporary times or even in the immediate future. They bide their time and fulfil their purpose on due occasion!

The next period of Muslim domination seems to have only stabilized the already evolved costumes and spread some of the regional varieties much further than their original home. Thus we have seen how in the 15th century the female costume of Gujarat consisted of a 'lungi' type of rich 'sāri' with a bodice and a scarf, not thrown overhead but worn almost in the fashion of the classical piece (126, 127). Within a century or so, it came to be like that of Rajasthani ladies (130). The skirt or 'ghāgrā', though not very full, and the scarf, which now became the 'oḍhṇi' and was draped over the skirt and drawn overhead, replaced the older and the simpler attire. The 'ghāgrā' and the scarf worn as 'oḍhṇi', already known to us from an earlier period, must have gained greater currency in the eastern parts, i. e. in the United Provinces and Bihar during this period. Yet a caution must be sounded against too easy an acceptance of this eventuality. Sculptures dating from the early years of the third period from eastern parts of the Gunga-Yamuna doab showing this dress are known. The close-fitting pyjama with a high-waisted frock-like over-

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coat of long and tapering sleeves, though perhaps only a revival of an old ensemble (116), becomes much more common and is usually associated with Muslim females. The only innovation, which really may not have occurred in this period but which is first attested very soon after this period begins, is the dress of Maharastrian females. The 'sāri', which is nine yards in length is worn not only to cover the whole body but also with hind pleats, a practice perhaps also common to some areas of the Dravidian South. It is the combination of the old Western with the ancient Central sartorial features that makes this costume a novelty.

In the matter of male costume the 'cuḍidāra pyjama' type of leg-covering got associated with Indian royalty and particularly with Rajasthani royalty (104, 106, 115), though the Dravidian South still remained impervious to it. The upper part of the body was clothed in a coat of the 'bārābandi' type and developed into a huge expanse among some of the Rajasthani nobility. The 'aṅgarkhā' became the typical formal piece of attire except in the Dravidian South for a long time, where the royalty seems to have adopted it only after the success of the Muslim powers towards the end of the 16th century. It is an instructive detail of cultural history that though Akbar favoured the fastening of the upper flap of this double-breasted coat on the right side, in opposition to the current Hindu mode of taking it from the right side and securing it at the left, the bulk of the people stuck to their old habit, looking upon it as a national or ethnic trait of culture.

Head-dress was very often formed by a made-up piece known generally as the Moghul turban. We have seen its exact prototype in current use in some parts of the country towards the latter part of the second period (136) and shall be well advised not to speak of it as the Moghul turban. In Rajasthani paintings one hardly comes across a real 'paṭkā' or 'pheṭā' folded over the head, with a small bunch standing up over the crown and a longer one dangling over the neck at the back, so characteristic of royalty and nobility of Hindu extraction in the 16th and later centuries. It is surprising that this very characteristic dress, more or less of ancient association and of hallowed memory, one which later came to be equated with dignity, should not figure very prominently in the artistic remains of the time. Perhaps it came to be sported more and more in opposition to the Muslim royalty which donned the turban. In this respect, too, the Dravidian South remained for long outside the current of homogeneity.

In the last period, a new synthesis in response to new influences and fresh patterns of dress arose. While it was on its way to stabilize itself the upsurge of

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national feeling tended to brush aside some of its features as non-national. In the matter of male attire Rajasthani nobility, basing its needs and newly observed patterns on the background of the old 'cuḍidāra pyjama', evolved a piece of attire for the legs, which has been known as the 'Jodhpurs' and is donned by most members of the old royalty and nobility. The new patterns for the clothing of the upper part of the body naturally impressed the innovators. A coat somewhat partaking of the nature of a straight-backed semi-martial garment was the result. With its collar standing up and its length not stretching beyond the buttocks, and affording as it did a number of useful pockets, it not only proved a functionally sound garment but also added to the stiff dignity of its wearer. This ensemble appears equally satisfying with the 'paṭkā' or 'sāphā' on the head or with the newly imported sola-hat. The former confers dignity, the latter evinces efficiency. Further, the whole of the upper ensemble can take up the European trousers for the legs as well as the 'Jodhpurs' or the 'cuḍidāra pyjama'. The long coat and the purely European dress, too, were favourite with the official classes. The 'bārābandi' and the 'aṅgarkhā' fell into disuse.

But the tenacious 'dhoti', the native of the soil, has proved very hardy. It is the enthusiastic negligé of the youth in general, and of the school and college youth in particular, which instinctively favoured and favours the loose pyjama on the Muslim pattern (400-404), combined with the scarcity of 'dhoti's, that bids fair to secure a permanent lodgement for that garment in place of the 'dhoti'. While the exigencies of office encouraged the use of trousers, the spread of military training during the World War I and the introduction of some of it in the Universities, too, accustomed to it some sections of the rural population and of the youthful educated. If the development of the police force and of the postal service introduced a kind of short trousers to a fairly large number of people, the growth of the scout movement, especially after the World War I spread the use of the 'shorts' among the youth. Various volunteer organizations, started during the national struggle, were not slow to recognise the advantages of a semi-military uniform for inculcating rigid discipline, so necessary in a struggle of that nature.

While the above mentioned developments were taking place, Mahatma Gandhi had proclaimed the need for the use of a cap of white cotton cloth called 'khādi' as a national symbol. It was avidly taken up not only by strict adherents of the Congress creed but also by some other sections of the population. It has ever since been known as the 'Gandhi cap'. Though it was ushered in under such auspices as

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that of the directive of Mahatma Gandhi and was patronized by such leaders as Jawaharlal Nehru, the present Prime Minister, and Rajendra Prasad, the first President of the Republic, it failed to grip the imagination of the people as pictures testify (400-408). The various groups of students in the conference pictures are far from uniform in their head-dress. And the white 'Gandhi cap' does not even preponderate among the headgears. Even the pictures of some gatherings, at random, of members of the Indian and the Provincial Governments show divergence in the matter of head-dress. Small wonder then that Bengal, Andhradesa, Tamilnad, and Kerala, which, till the national struggle of the last thirty years, favoured bare-headedness, remained almost impervious to the call of the white cap or of any other covering for the head.

We have seen that in the sartorial ensemble of the Indian female the British contact introduced an element of uniformity in the form of the blouse as the garment for clothing the upper part of the body. Its acceptance was tardy but when it took place it marked a great change forward in the sentiment attached to, and in the purpose fulfilled by, costume. Concealment of the person was enthroned not only in sentiment but also in sartorial practice. It is a sign of the times, which are marked by rapid and restless change, that even before this change was firmly established among the elite, fashionable ladies and fashion-plates, some of which latter are reproduced in pictures 409 to 412, began to bare their bosoms under the style of low-cut necks of the blouses and to make the latter short enough to reveal the region about the lower ribs for a space of between one inch to three inches. This fashionable exposure as yet is not large enough to meet with the approval of classical Samskrit poets, if they were to return to witness the spectacle. Nevertheless even this meagre width of surface gains the end of exposure with the help of the shiny and lathery texture of the modern textiles in front and with that of a new fashion-feature at the back. Since the time, when either the scarf-like piece began to be wrapped over the lower garment or the 'sāri' was utilized to swathe the entire body in one sweep, the garment has tended to be draped in such a manner that though its showy broad border may serve the purpose of a dress-improver its expanse or volume should also tend to cover the contour of the hips. In the fashionable tendency of the last forty years or more the surplus portion of the 'sāri', hanging over the back, has either shortened or got rolled up or both, thus exposing the contour of the hips more and more. This shrivelling up and this shortening of this portion have helped the meagre exposure of the part below the ribs to show out in its fleshy, colour and texture.

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The tendency that was just setting in for Gujarati females, the youthful ones of course, to drop drawing a portion of the 'sāri' overhead was supported by the newer demands of fashion as well as of function. The volunteer and other activities have led to the 'sāri' being draped in the manner of Bengali females by some of the young ladies. Its loose end goes from the right side over the bosom and the left shoulder. Maharashtrian ladies are taking more and more to the use of the five or six yards 'sāri', which does not admit of the hind pleats being formed and tucked. They are thus returning to the older costume of ladies of the Deśa, the Deccan, in a way. There are quite a number of Sindhi and Panjabi ladies who prefer this mode of attire to their old 'salwar' and 'saluka'. Even in the Tamilian, Malayalam and Kodagu South there are not wanting young ladies who sport this 'sari'-wear. Thus a national costume for ladies is in the process of evolution, which, as will be realized, combines the features of the most ancient female wear with some revived by foreigners in the first two centuries of the Christian era. This evolution is a spontaneous cultural process, no government of this land having laid down an official and a formal female dress. It must therefore be accepted.

The male costume, on the other hand, has been brought under conscious influence of individuals and of a political party. The 'Gandhi cap', which did not grip large sections of the people, is, under the ægis of the Congress Government, now perching itself on the heads of peons and such other menials as a part of the uniform. Yet the Indian Government has not prescribed it as a component of an official dress. It has prescribed the use of a black long coat, which has rather a wide skirt and that of either the 'cuḍidāra pyjama' or the European trousers in white. In selecting the ensemble, I think the readers of this book will agree, the Government has not paid proper heed to the evolutionary and the cultural process. The use of European trousers in white would appear to be clearly more in keeping with the last transformation as well as with the dictates of efficiency. I may add that in our climate the more roomy European piece is better than our suffocatingly close garment. The æsthetics of garments is a topic which is notoriously temperamental. Yet it cannot be contradicted that the bandy-leggedness of man is exaggerated by the close-fitting pyjama and rather concealed by the European trousers, which therefore must be pronounced to be æsthetically more satisfying. The short coat with standing collar sported by Rajasthani royalty and nobility is very much more in keeping with the times, and, as a reminder of our ability to synthesize, an object of legitimate pride. As mentioned above and as the practice of many demonstrates, the sola-hat, as an efficient piece of head-dress for daily wear, goes well with these

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lower garments. But for formal occasions a more dignified type of head-dress more in keeping with our past is necessary. The 'pheṭā', 'paṭkā' or 'sāfā', hallowed through its use by a number of great and courageous warriors of the past, I think, chooses itself for that honour. The saffron or ochre-coloured 'paṭkā' is a reminder of the ascetic temper of our culture. It is hallowed by its use by Swami Vivekanand, who made the first cultural conquest of the West for us. As a tribute to Shivaji and his great followers a little band of gold or silver thread at both ends will be fitting and should satisfy the Hindu Mahāsabhā about its insistence on 'jaripaṭkā'. Such a costume will harmonize with the evolution of the female costume, being a national dress and sufficiently distinctive. It will combine æsthetics with functionalism and tradition with modernity.

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Appendix

Costume as it figures in Samskrt & Prakrt Literature*

Place of Dress in the Beautification of a Person

In Hāla's 'Gāthāsaptaśatī' occurs a verse which may be thus rendered: "Passersby look longingly and with a fixed gaze at the daughter of a peasant, even though she is whitened all over by the flour that is blown over her, as if she were goddess Lakṣmī emerging out of the milky ocean", (Ga., IV, 89). Both the commentators have taken the purpose of this verse to be to inculcate the famous dictum in Sanskrit which runs: "Even distortion of the beautiful lends charm to their person", ('ramyāṇām vikṛtirapi śriyam tanoti').

Vidūṣaka, in Bhāsa's 'Avimāraka', seeing his hero, the Sauvīra prince, in his love-lorn condition, remarks that even that condition becomes him; for "anything is an adornment to the beautiful", ('sarvam alaṅkāro bhavati surūpāṇām'). (Bh. p. 129: Av. II 833). One of the maids of the heroine of the above drama similarly observes regarding the futility of adornment of the heroine as in her opinion the very form of the heroine was an ornament incarnate. But in the course of conversation she modifies her statement by the generalization, "naturally charming things appear more charming when adorned", ('ākṛtireva bhartṛdārikāyā alaṁkāra iti bhaṇāmi...svabhāvaramaṇīyāni maṇḍitāni atiramaṇīyāni bhavanti'), (Bh. p. 47 : Av. IV 21–26). In the 'Pratimānātaka' Sītā's maid voices the first sentiment with greater emphasis on the power of the beauty of a charming person. She says: "Beauty looks well, with anything", ('sarvaśobhanīyam surūpam nāma'), when asked by Sītā whether the bark-garment will become her. When Sītā persists, the maid remarks that not only does her mistress look well in the bark-garment but she has beautified the latter by her own charm to such an extent that it appears as if it were made of gold, (Bh. p. 253: Pra. I, 4, 54-7).

In Kālidāsa's 'Mālavikāgnimitra', the king, the lover, speaking of his beloved Mālavikā in her love-lorn condition remarks: Oh! Loveliness gains in charm in whatever condition", ('aho sarvāsvavasthāsu cārutā śobhāntaram puṣyati') (M., II before v 6). In the 'Śākuntala' the Kañcukī finding the king in his repentant and love-lorn condition admires his charm thus: "Oh! Beautiful persons appear charming under all

* With some modifications this is identical with my contribution to the K. N. Dikshit memorial volume (Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, VIII).

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conditions", ('aho sarvāsvavasthāsu ramaṇīyatvam ākṛtiviśeṣāṇām'), (S., VI, 6).. The king speaking of Śakuntalā on his first view of her in the hermitage and finding that she was dressed in a bark-garment is displeased to note the impropriety of that kind of garment for her age and yet is pleased to find that even that inappropriate garment added to her splendour and adornment. He begins to ponder over this apparently contrary and disharmonious phenomenon and finds a complete explanation for it. He observes: "A lotus is beautiful though intertwined with moss; the dark spot in the moon adds to its charm; this slender lady has her charm enhanced by the bark-garment; what cannot serve as adornment to beautiful forms?" He means as an answer that anything can enhance the charm of a naturally beautiful object. Even the inappropriate dress of a bark-garment in this particular case adds to the loveliness of the heroine ('kāmam ananurūpam asyā vayaso valkalam na punar alaṁkāraśriyam na puṣyati: sarasijam anuviddham śaivalenāpi ramyam malinam api himāṁśor lakṣma lakṣmīṁ tanoti; iyam adhikamanojñā valkalenāpi tanvī kimiva hi madhurāṇām maṇḍanam nākṛtīnām'), (S., I, 7). The commentator Rāghavabhaṭṭa remarks that the verse produces the figure of speech known as 'mādhurya', 'sweetness', and characterizes it in the following quotation from somewhere: 'sarvāvasthāviśeṣeṣu mādhuryam ramaṇīyatā', 'loveliness under all conditions is called sweetness'. In another connection the same commentator quotes a definition of 'rūpa', 'natural beauty', 'handsome form' from somewhere (S. VI, 6). As we shall see later it is from a work called 'Sudhākara'. It runs: "That is natural beauty which makes the limbs of a person appear as if they were adorned even when actually no artificial ornaments are put on", ('aṅgānyabhūṣitānyeva prakṣepādyair vibhūṣaṇaih yena bhūṣitavadbhānti tadrūpam iha kathyate').

In one place in the 'Raghuvaṁśa Kālidāsa goes further and voices the sentiment that even a dishevelled dress lends charm to the faces of young ladies ('manojña eva pramadāmukhānām ambhovihārākulitopi veṣaḥ'), (R. XVI, 67). Mallinātha properly quotes in this connection from somewhere the dictum that 'even distortion of the beautiful lends charm to the person', ('ramyāṇām vikṛtirapi śriyam tanoti').

On one occasion a sentiment contrary to the one so far described is voiced by a female friend of Śakuntalā who is also an inmate of the hermitage. On seeing Śakuntalā adorned with whatever decorations the hermitage could provide she remarks: "Handsome form which is fit for ornaments is disfigured by decorations available in a hermitage" 'ābharaṇocitam rūpamāśramasulabhaih prasādhanair viprakāryate' (S. VI. 6). A sentiment which is exactly the complement of the above

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is expressed once in the 'Mālavikāgnimitra'. The Vidūṣaka speaking to the king about Mālavikā as she was dressed for her wedding observes: "Her honour Mālavikā appears particularly and peculiarly beautiful in her wedding attire" ('kimapi vaivāhikanepathyena saviśeṣam khalu śobhate tatrabhavatī Mālavikā'), (M., V., before v. 7). Whereas in the former passage the possibility of a naturally beautiful person being disfigured by improper decoration is stated, in the latter the capacity of proper attire to lend special charm to a person is asserted.

Bāṇabhaṭṭa in his play 'Pārvatīpariṇāya' puts the following sentiment in the mouth of one of his characters in describing the beauty of Pārvatī when she was dressed for her wedding with Śiva. "That ornaments beautify the body is the popular belief. In the case of Pārvatī, however, her limbs produced an indescribable charm in the ornaments put on her", ('aṇgam bhūṣaṇanikarobhūṣayatītyeṣa laukiko vādahī; aṅgāni bhūṣaṇānām kāmapi suṣamāmajījanaṁstasyāhī'), (p. 39). In king Harṣa's 'Nāgānanda' the hero tells the heroine that her limbs adorn her, while the ornaments she has put on simply torment her ('svāṅgaireva vibhūṣitāsi; vahasi klesāya kiṁ maṇḍanam'), (N. p. 50: Act. III).

In the 'Mālatī-Mādhava' of Bhavabhūti, Makaranda describing Mālatī, adorned for her wedding, remarks to her lover Mādhava, that Mālatī even with her pale and emaciated appearance lent a charm to the ornaments she was made to put on instead of the ornaments adorning her ('iyamavayavaih pāṇḍukṣāmairalaṁkṛta-maṇḍanā'), (Mm., VI, 1, 61). The Buddhist nun seeing Mālatī in her love-lorn condition bursts out with praise of the extraordinary beauty of Mālatī who, even when she is pale and dusky, appears charming, (MM., II, 11, 122 125).

In the 'Karpūramañjarī' of Rājaśekhara we are introduced to a discussion on female beauty, what it consists in and the place of embellishment in its make-up. When the king sees the charming heroine suddenly brought in his presence from her bath and therefore half-clothed, he is so struck by her naked beauty that he tantalizingly describes her features to the Vidūṣaka. His description leads the otherwise foolish Vidūṣaka to introduce the topic of the value of ornaments in the make-up of beauty. To corroborate the king's estimate of the beauty of the heroine he points out that even though she was without ornaments and cosmetics, the former being removed at the time of bathing and the latter being washed off in the bath, she looked quite lovely. His purpose would appear to be to suggest to the king that the heroine would appear even more charming than she was at the time, being devoid of the aid of embellishment. This idea he conveys in the next verse. He

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observes that embellishment imparts a certain comeliness to charm of those who, like the heroine, are naturally handsome. The king who is dominated by the physical aspect almost ignores the complete import of the Vidūṣaka's remarks and accepting his opinion that the heroine is naturally handsome again indulges in a description of her charms which have already begun to make him love-sick. After he had his fill of the description of her physical charms and of the avowal of his having been enamoured of her, he had time to revolve in his mind the full significance of Vidūṣaka's remarks to which now he rejoins. He is not in a mood to accept his dicta. He is too much dominated by the physical aspect, being treated to the heroine's almost naked charms, to concede that apparel and such other accessories, which, whatever else they may or may not achieve, certainly conceal completely or partially some of the bodily features, can be an aid to beauty. He asserts that the persons of women are the most handsome when they are adorned in their own natural excellences and that the splendour of attire seems rather to conceal the beauty of the person. It is for this reason that charming women are able to captivate the other sex with their glances unaided by other accessories. Having contradicted the general observation of the Vidūṣaka he returns again to his favourite topic of describing the physical allurments of the heroine, (Km., I, 30–34).

The topic is renewed when the king has an opportunity of interrogating about the heroine a friendly maid of the queen in the second Act of the drama. As a love-sick person the king naturally hopes to calm himself with scraps of information about his lady-love. He asks the maid what was done to the heroine by the queen's maids when she was taken into the female apartment. She narrates to him her dressing and adornment step by step and he makes an observation every time indicating that the particular step in adornment or the stage in embellishment was proper and must have led to a heightened effect. When the description of the heroine's dressing ends he remarks that it was like the creation of the splendour of spring on a pleasure-ground. It is quite clear from this that the king is quite willing to admit the propriety of dressing the heroine and also its capacity to show her off to greater advantage. This gives the Vidūṣaka his opportunity for pressing his view about the role and propriety of accessories in beautification. He seems to have slightly modified his views to suit the taste of his patron. He states that collyrium befits the eyes that are straight and bright and a pearl-necklace becomes large breasts. But he would regard the placing of a gorgeous girdle on expansive buttocks as both an adornment as well as a disadornment. It seems he has appreciated his patron's point of view that a gorgeous girdle conceals the contour of the buttocks,

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which physical feature is such an attraction to the king. Yet the splendour of the jewels of the girdle in the Vidūṣaka's judgment lends a charm to the whole, perhaps because he is unable to get over the dazzling effect of such splendour. The king completely subjugated by the physical charms of the heroine as she appeared to him first, almost unmindful of the Vidūṣaka's remarks, again describes her in her first appearance, whereupon the Vidūṣaka draws his attention to the fact that he himself was speaking of her appearance after she was completely dressed and adorned. He being vexed a little, makes bold to state his original view with modification. He observes that "Adornments unfold to advantage the comeliness even of a person who is naturally handsome" and supports his statement by the illustration that the jewels show off to greater beauty when they are set in gold. Though jewels have a natural splendour of their own which is much greater than that of gold yet their beauty is enhanced when they are set in gold.* This irritates the king to throw off his politeness and to tell the Vidūṣaka in so many words that he is a fool. He says: "It is only the hearts of fools that fair women captivate by their witchery of attire; clever men can be won only by natural beauty". To support his view the king too gives an illustration by pointing out that grape-juice is not rendered sweeter by the addition of sugar.

At this stage the clever maid seeing that it was a good opportunity to plead the extraordinary beauty of her friend, the heroine, and also to pay off her old score against the Vidūṣaka states that the naturally charming features of the female body, like swelling breasts, are not further beautified by dress and adornment. She is the person who described so minutely and tantalizingly as far as the king was concerned, the dressing of the heroine. As if remembering her part, she amplifies her view by stating that though dress and adornment hardly impart any additional beauty it is considered desirable or agreeable because custom or habit is hard to break. She means to state that though people realize that dress and ornaments do not aid the charms of a naturally handsome female yet they go on wearing dress and arrangements and appreciating them because of the force of habit or custom. In this manner she finds a way out, serving her friend's interests, pleasing the king and justifying the queen's and her own actions in regard to the dressing of the heroine. The king is ready to silence the Vidūṣaka with this statement of the maid but himself is not prepared to leave his position. He makes his view more clear and emphatic now by drawing a distinction between the women who try to attract through attire and those who captivate by their natural charms as he had tried to clench the issue with the Vidūṣaka by

* The reading on which this rendering is based is the one given in Km. (b).

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distinguishing between foolish and wise males who are captivated by the splendour of attire and by inherent charms respectively. He observes: "What is the use of artificial ways of adornment? Those are the tricks of actresses. High-born ladies captivate the hearts of men by their own lovely persons". He further illustrates the truth of his observation by pointing out that it is because of the fact that true and blissful satisfaction is given only by naturally charming features that people do not wish for splendour of dress in that act, which gives the greatest pleasure, in which all the limbs of the body come into the play, viz., sexual congress, (KM., II, 12–28).

In the third Act when the king narrates to the Vidūṣaka his dream regarding the heroine, the latter asks him to tell him the cause that leads certain people to indulge in wish-fulfilment. The king who is love-sick naturally replies that it lies in love. The Vidūṣaka here corners the king. He asks him whether his intent gazing at the heroine, which implies that he is in love with her, does not mean that she is superior in certain qualities to the queen for whom the king has already developed great love. The king finding himself placed in a difficult situation attempts to wriggle out of it. He asserts that that way of looking at his passion for the heroine and at his attitude towards the queen is not right. The attraction that he feels for the heroine, like all such attractions, is the consequence of something unknown and not of the beauty of the person. People generally ascribe such a feeling to the beauty of the person only to prevent the curious and the wicked from talking about it. He means to say that physical charm is credited with creating a passion for the person by a public, which does not understand that such passion is really something deeper or is due to some internal incalculable force. People therefore put forward beauty as the cause of their new passion to prevent the public from making further curious inquiries. After a short disquisition from the king on the nature of love the Vidūṣaka seems to grasp his point of view, viz. that it is some indescribable internal feeling which tends to awaken in the other party affection or love, and he returns to his topic in the discussion of which he was worsted. He wants to know, in view of this peculiar nature of passion or love, why women, and perhaps men too, use the trickery of the splendour of ornaments which is believed to rouse that feeling. The query is quite proper. If passion or love is the result of something which is an indescribable internal force these externals of dress and ornaments fulfil no purpose. The king admits the force of his argument, which is in the line of his own original point of view. He remarks that it is neither the splendour of embellishment nor even beauty that crowns young women with success in love. It is something else that achieves it for them. This something is so very common at

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a certain time in the life of a woman that it is possessed in equal degree by the consort of an emperor and the wife of a common man in spite of a certain difference in the external splendour which is caused by rubies, saffron and garments. We expect the king to mean by this his original point of view wherein he stressed the great significance of the physical features of a woman for her attractive capacity. But no; here he goes further. He says that that something common to the consort of an emperor and the wife of a commoner is not the bright eyes nor the moonlike face nor even the swelling breasts. It is something else than these or their ensemble that captivates men's hearts. What that is exactly he leaves unspecified. But the Vidūṣaka does not allow him to leave the thing shrouded in a mystery. He points out very frankly that what during childhood is unattractive to the heart of man comes to develop something which exercises this attraction of beauty when the woman becomes adolescent. In an abstract and indirect manner this voices the same sentiment as is conveyed straightforwardly in the popular adage, 'when the sixteenth year is attained even an ass-like female appears like the paragon of beauty' ('prāpte tu ṣoḍaśe varṣe gardhabhī hyapsarā bhavet'). The king seems to see the point but expresses it rather grandiloquently. He says that in the case of woman two Creators must be working at her creation, one giving her the girlish form and the other the loveliness she attains during adolescence. With this it is easy for him to return to his original point of view and to state it in an emphatic and unequivocal manner, justifying fully our contention that from the first the king was dominated by the physical aspect of the female beauty. Art of embellishment, splendour of ornaments and the beauty of attire are all superseded by the youthful bloom of maidens as a captivating device, which is so patent that it may be termed the sixth arrow of Cupid, who has traditionally only five arrows in his quiver. What this youthful bloom precisely signifies is made clear by the specific mention of usual five features of the physique of a youthful lady, viz. lovely form, large and long eyes, swelling breasts, waist adorned with three folds and capable of being grasped in the fist, and expansive full buttocks. Thus the king's first opinion that naturally charming features alone, and not the attire, is the source of attraction is finally emphasized by him, (Km., III, 9.19). It may be of interest to note that the commentator quotes from 'Sudhākara' the following definition of beauty of form: 'aṅgānyabhūṣitānyeva prakṣepādyair vibhūṣaṇaih yena bhūṣitavadbhānti tadrūpamiha kathyate' "that is called beauty of form which gives the limbs the appearance of being adorned even though actually they are not adorned with artificial ornaments", (Km. (b), p. 30).

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Maṅkha describing the attiring of the ladies of the Kailāsa mountain mentions how it led to different results with different ladies according to the differences in their natural form and beauty. He says: "The attire created new beauty for some who did not naturally possess any; it simply manifested the natural charms of some, who possessed them in moderate amount; it enhanced the charms of some others [evidently by concealing skilfully some of their features which did not harmonize with their other charms]; in the case of some ladies who had inherent perfect beauty, however, it concealed their charms", (Sr., XIII, 47). Thus attire produced results differing according to the degree of natural charms possessed by the ladies. Here we have a moderate opinion about the utility of dress in enhancing the charms of a lady. It is noteworthy, therefore, that even in a sober and moderate view of the functions of dress it is considered to be a positive hindrance in the case of naturally perfect beauties. But naturally perfect beauties being rare on the whole, dress appears to this poet to fulfil a significant role in the creation of beauty.

Śrīharṣa in describing the preparation of Damayantī for her wedding with Nala dilates on the natural charm of Damayantī and the role her attiring and ornamentation for the marriage-rite played. When her skilful attendants attired her they knew that the charms of Damayantī's beauty were the paragon of their class and could not be enhanced. Yet on decorating her they found that a certain indescribable charm was produced which appeared to be much greater than the natural beauty of Damayantī. Seeing the result they began to wonder whether it was the ornaments that created the enhanced charm of Damayantī's person or whether it was the handsomeness of Damayantī that lent additional charm to the ornaments as they were put on her. With all their acuity and profundity in these matters they were unable to decide the question either way (Na., XV, 48). In another mood the poet thinks quite decisively that the ornaments had no share in the enchancement of Damayantī's charms. He says: "When the ornaments themselves by their juxtaposition and by the charm of her limbs attained beauty, the maids could not say anything more as they found that the etymological meaning of their name signified that their making was useless" (Na., XV, 48). Thus the poet puns on the word 'alaṁkarṇa' which means 'an ornament' and may be made to signify 'something whose making is futile' and conveys his opinion that the ornaments did not produce any charm and that the charm that was produced was the result of the total ensemble in which the natural beauty of a person was the preponderant and decisive factor. Finally, however, he concedes to them some positive though secondary function. "The ornaments heightened the greatness of the natural charm, just as the sanctity of the Ganges is enhanced by the

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particular sacred places or as the affection a parent feels for the children is strengthened by the good qualities of these children or as moral conduct impresses more by the bright fortunes of its professor" (Na., XV, 54). Ornaments are thus accessories which heighten the charm of a person.

(b) Modesty in Female Costume

Parivrājikā, who was appointed the judge to decide on the merits of the students of the two dancing masters in the 'Mālavikāgnimitra' directs that the girls when showing their performances should be clothed in thin dress so that the grace of all their body might be displayed (M., I, before v. 20). From this special injunction to dress the girls in thin garments so as to expose their charms it may be inferred that generally it was not thought proper to dress in such thin garments as would expose the female charms.

Bhāravi describing, in his 'Kirātārjunīya', the amours of the Gandharva ladies offers a justification on their behalf for their loosening their lower garments to such an extent as to expose their navels. They are represented as doing it under the influence of wine (Ki., IX, 65). Mallinātha commenting on it quotes from somewhere the injunction of the sacred law that one shall not expose one's navel, 'na nābhim darśayet'.

On the other hand, the description of Kādambarī in her home conversing with persons not belonging to her immediate family has it that her fine thighs could be clearly seen through the thin white garment she had put on, 'svacchāmbaradṛśyamānamṛṇālakomalorumūlam (Ka., p. 343). Similarly Mālatī, the confidante of Dadhīca is described as wearing so fine a cloak or coat as to show clearly the sandal paste on her body (H., pp. 50-51).

In the 'Śiśupālavadha' Māgha gives a poetic description of the city of Dwārkā and its ladies. He states how the fineness of the garments worn over their breasts by the ladies allowed the breasts to be seen clearly, (Si., III, 56).

Hemacandra praises the womankind of the city of Anahilapātaka, the capital of Gurjararāṣṭra for their modesty of dress. They used to cover properly all the parts of their body (Dv. Vol. I, 37). Abhayatilakagaṇi commenting on the passage, about the middle of the thirteenth century A. D., remarks that it greatly adds to the beauty of high-born ladies if they conceal all their limbs very properly, 'kulāṅganānām hi sarvāṅgopāṅgasaṁgopanam śobhātiśayahetuh'.

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In the commentary 'Rasikapriyā'–first quarter of the 14th century – (Gg., III, 2) is quoted as from 'Rasikasarvasva' the following passage which explains the motive of modesty as exemplified in covering up certain parts of the body: "If a lady looks longingly at her navel artfully exposing upper abdomen or breasts, or if the knot of the pleats of her lower garment gets loosened and if she frequently undoes and ties up her hair when she sees her lover's friends or when her good fortune is being praised she indicates her passion for her lover", 'nābhīmūlakucodaraprakaṭanavyājena, yadyoṣitāṁ śākāṅkṣam muhurīkṣaṇam skhalitatā nīvīnibandhasya ca; keśabhraṁśanasaṁyamau ca kamitur mitrādisaṁdarśanaih, saubhāgyādiguṇaprasastikathanaistatsānurāgeṅgitam'.

(c) Certain Usages and Beliefs about Dress

In the 'Mṛcchakaṭika' of Śūdraka, Cārudatta is represented as throwing his mantle over the maid in the dark as he thought it was getting windy. It so happened that the person over whom he threw his mantle was not his maid but the courtezan Vasantasenā who had come there. When Cārudatta discovered that the person over whom he had thrown his mantle was a different lady from his maid he blamed himself for having contaminated her or rather outraged her modesty (Mr., I. v. 54). It was considered outrageous to offer the garment worn by a male to a female who was the wife of a stranger, though one might offer it to one's maid.

People used to express their close friendship and appreciation of mutual help by exchanging their upper garments (K., XIII, 18, 21). The technical term for this friendly exchange of garments was 'Niruñchanaṁ'. Mallinātha quotes the lexicon 'Medinī' giving the meaning of the term as 'exchange of garments for the sake of brotherhood', 'niruñchanam bandhutāyai vāsasah parivartanam'. The custom seems to have been prevalent in his time and had his approval. He mentions that the people cemented brotherly relations by tying a turban ('uṣṇiṣa') on each other's heads. The exchange of upper garments referred to by Kālidāsa is covered by the practice of Mallinātha's contemporaries, though the latter was perhaps more significant in view of the great importance of the head-dress.

In the 'Harṣacarita' Bāṇa tells us that the king Harṣa sent to Haṁsavega, the messenger from the friendly king of Assam, the remnant of the sandal-paste used by himself, two garments touched by his person and other things (H., p. 293). Evidently one's regard and affection for another was shown by presenting him with articles used by oneself, here particularly garments touched by self as indicative of use by

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oneself. The person towards whom such behaviour could be adopted was one whose status was distinctly lower than oneself.

(d) Miscellaneous

Kālidāsa has voiced a popular sentiment regarding the purpose of attire as worn by females. The main purpose why females dress up is that they may be appreciated by their beloveds in such attire, 'strīṇām priyālokaphalo hi veṣaḥ', (K., VII. 22). This verse is quoted in the commentary, 'Rasikapriyā', without the mention of its source (Gg., VI, v. 4).

Prostitutes are declared to have their being and essence in dress and ornaments, 'ākalpasāro rūpājīvājanah (Ds., p. 118). 'Ākalpa' is 'nepathya' according to 'Amarakośa'. 'Nepathya' includes both dress and ornaments.

Hemacandra conveys some common wisdom through the admonition that even one's own garment and one's own sandal may cause one's fall, the former by being worn too low so that it covers the ankles and the latter being too high, 'patanāya bhavennijāpi paṭyāprapadīnānupadīnikā ca tuṅgā', (Dv., vol. II, 432). We may conclude that the lower garment was properly worn rather short so that it did not by covering the ankles slightly hinder one's free movement.

Female Dress

Bāṇabhaṭṭa has described Sāvitrī standing by the side of Brahmā in the following details. She wore a very white and fine garment made from the bark of the tree of paradise and had put on a piece of cloth made of lotus-filaments as her upper garment. She had made with this upper garment the Swastika-shaped knot between her high breasts. She wore a white ascetic's wrap as her scarf, hanging from one shoulder and going under the other like the sacred thread, (H., p. 16). The Swastika-shaped knot is technically referred to in the text as the 'gātrikāgranthi'. It is interpreted as above on the authority of the commentator, who further states that the particular knot was generally formed by the females in their upper garment at the region of the breasts. The description of Mālatī, confidante of Dadhīca, gives us a picture of the female dress perhaps put on either by a maiden or only when riding on horseback. At least Mālatī was riding a huge horse. We are told about two garments only. We may judge from this that on occasions like that of riding ladies wore only the two garments more or less minutely described by Bāṇa. Mālatī put on a cloak, made of the finest washed silk, which was of the purest white colour

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and reached right upto the toes or at least covered the ankles. It was so fine and thin that her limbs could be clearly seen through it. There was no other garment for the upper part of the body. The dried-up sandal-paste as well as the rich necklace resting on the fine breasts was perfectly visible through the cloak. The thinness and fineness of the garment is forcefully brought to the notice of the readers by its being described as being lighter than the cast-off slough of a serpent. The lower part of the body was covered by a piece of apparel called 'caṇḍātaka' which was coloured with safflower dye and variegated with spots in different hues and was visible under the cloak. According to the lexical meaning of the term 'caṇḍātaka' it was a garment which reached the middle of the thighs only. Whether it was tied at the waist with its own strings and was a cut and sewn piece of apparel and therefore to be equated with half drawers– Marathi–'māṇḍacolaṇā'–or whether it was a short petticoat, not being divided into legs, or whether it was only a piece of cloth held at the waist by tucking in, is not at all clear from its description. On her hips jingled a girdle: 'sakalajīvalokahṛdayahaṭaharaṇaghoṣaṇayeva raśanayā śiñjānajaghanasthalā, dhautadhavalanetranirmitena nirmokalaghutareṇāprapadīnena kañcukena tirohitatanulatāacchātakañcukāntaradṛśyamānairāśyānacandanadhavalairavayavaih .... kusumbharāgapāṭalapulakabandhacitram caṇḍātakam antahsphuṭam sphaṭikabhūmiriva ratnanidhānamādadhānā', (H., pp. 50-51). She is fancied to have provided her head with head-dress in the form of the lustrous rays cast there by the jewelled ornament she wore at the top of her forehead. Further she had as it were a veil of blue netted silk over the upper portion of her face in the form of the bees which were hovering round her eyes, mistaking them to be lotuses: 'lalāṭalāsakasya sīmantacumbinaścaṭulātilakamaṇerudañcatā cañcalenāṁśujālena raktāṁśukena kṛtaśirovaguṇṭhanā ... vikacanayanakuvalayavanakutūhalanilīyamānayā alikulasaṁhatyā nīlāṁśukajālikayeva niruddhārdhavadanā', (H., pp. 52, 51). From these fancies it may be properly inferred that it was not unusual for ladies to fold some gay cloth round their heads as head-dress. The practice of fine net being used as a veil for the face too must have been pretty common. In the description of Lakṣmī figures only one garment which is so thin and fine and shows her limbs so well that Bāṇa fancies her as coming out of her garment. The garment was ornamented with various flowers and birds, which must have been either woven into the texture of or painted or embroidered on the fabric, (H., p. 168). There were slight folds in the garment worked up by the wind. As no other garment is mentioned we may take it that the one garment she had on was worn in such a manner as to cover not only the lower but also the upper part of the body. Otherwise, it is inconceivable that she should not have carried an upper garment covering the upper part of the body.

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Harṣa's mother, queen Yaśomatī, when she prepared to immolate herself because of the approaching death of her husband, wore two garments coloured red or orange with safflower juice, 'kusumbhababhruṇī vāsasī dadhānā', (H., p. 2, 28).

The death of Harṣa's father is fancied to have left the 'earth-lady' a widow and Harṣa advises her to put on the widow's weeds, viz. two white garments, 'paridhattām dhavale vāsasī vasumatī', (H., p. 236). It is seen that a widow too was expected to wear the upper garment.

The Mātaṅga maiden in the 'Kādambarī', who was brought before the king Tārāpīḍa, with the extraordinary parrot of hers, is described as wearing only two garments. Her main garment was a blue long coat or gown, reaching the ankles and thus covering her body in blue to such an extent that the poet is led to fancy the girl to be a doll made of blue precious stone: 'gulphāvalaṁbinīlakañcukenā-vacchannaśarīrām'. Over the upper part or the head she was wearing a veil of red cloth: 'upariraktāṁśukaracitāvaguṇṭhanām', (Ka., p. 21). We must note that the piece of apparel called 'kañcuka' was a tailored garment and generally as a member of the female wardrobe signified a garment covering some small portion of the upper part of the body. In this case it is clearly a garment covering the whole body. It cannot therefore be taken to be the close-fitting piece of apparel that the female 'kañcuka' or 'kūrpāsaka' was. It must be taken here to connote a piece of apparel very much like the 'kañcuka' or overcoat of the male usherer called the 'kañcukin', a loose long overcoat, almost identical with the 'cogā'. The clear mention of its length reaching the ankles leaves no doubt about its being this piece of apparel. Though it is not called 'colaka' here, perhaps this latter term, which may be looked upon as the original of the 'cogā', was equivalent to it. The specific mention and the poetic utilization of the blue colour of the piece of apparel is also significant. We shall see later that to wear a blue-coloured single garment of the loose long coat type was the privilege of maidens. The Mātaṅga girl is described as a maiden and the blue colour specifically mentioned must be taken to describe the reality that maidens used to put on long gowns or coats of blue colour. Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that the word 'nīla' is rendered 'harita' 'green or yellow' by the commentator. It is worthy to note that even a Mātaṅga maid wore a veil when being presented to high personages. She had a girdle on her hips (Ka., p. 22).

The description of Mahāśvetā as Candrāpīḍa found her gives us the typical dress of high-born ladies when they were under some vow. There is no reference to

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a girdle or belt. The lower garment was of fine silk and of white colour. It was hanging rather low covering the ankles or reaching the toes. It looked reddish because of the reddish lustre of the soles of her feet which were turned up in the particular ascetic fashion of sitting. She wore an upper garment of the choicest bark in the shape of a 'chowree' or a fan—being under a vow, she could wear nothing else but a bark-cloth as her upper garment—which was worn with a knot fastened on the bosom at the small gap between the breasts. 'āprapadīnena ca svabhāvasitenāpi brahmāsanabandhottānacaraṇatalaprabhāpariṣaṅgāllohitāyamānena dukūlapaṭena prāvṛtanitambām...cāmararucirākṛtinā stanayugalamadhyanibaddhagranthinā kalpatarulatāvalkalena kṛtottarīyakṛtyām' (Ka., p. 248). Kādambarī too is described as wearing two very fine white silk cloths, when she proceeded to meet Candrāpīḍa, 'jyotsnāśucinī kalpadrumadukūle bibhratīm', (Ka., p. 368).

In the Mālatī-Mādhava of Bhavabhūti the bridal dress sent for Mālatī by her future husband's people consisted only of two items. One of them is described as a 'colaka' of the finest white silk and the other as red fine cloth, to be used as the upper garment, 'uttarīya' (Mm., VI, 1.83). The commentator paraphrases 'colaka' by 'kūrpāsaka' and observes that it was made of the finest white silk. Ordinarily 'kūrpāsaka' means a bodice, a piece of apparel covering the bosom. If only two items of apparel, of which one is undergarment, are mentioned and if the other item is to be identified with a bodice, which could cover only the bosom, the question would arise as to what was to be the piece of apparel for the lower part of the body. It is nowhere mentioned. It would be strange that in a bridal suit of apparel there was no provision for the lower garment. I think the difficulty is got over if we identify 'colaka' with the long variety of that piece of apparel, reaching the ankles and analogous to the 'cogā'. If the garment signified by 'colaka' was a long coat or a gown-like piece of apparel to be put on over the usual lower garment there was no question of the lower garment being referred to. That this is the sense which must be attached to the word 'colaka' is rendered probable, nay almost certain, by the fact that later on these items of apparel are used by a male, Makaranda, to dress himself with and to pass off for Mālatī in her bridal dress, (Mm., VI, II. 236-40). Nothing would have suited so well as a long over-coat-like piece of apparel for this purpose of obliterating the difference in the contours of the body of a female and a male and a fairly large and loose cloth thrown over the body as an upper garment. 'Colaka' must be taken to signify a 'cogā' like loose tailored garment.*

In the 'Veṇīsaṁhāra' of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, Bhānumatī, the queen of Duryodhana, narrates the dream she had in which a mungoose killing one hundred serpents

* See p. 149 above.

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removed her breast-cloth, 'stanāṁśukam', (Ve., p. 44, Act. II). Her friend and Duryodhana both concur that the dream forebodes evil and the latter particularly is sure that the removal of Bhānumatī's breast-cloth is pregnant with evil news (Ve., p. 46, Act. II). It is clear from this attitude towards the removal in dream of a married lady's breast-cloth that widows were not entitled to wear a breast garment.

In Rājaśekhara's 'Karpūramañjarī' the description of the heroine as she appeared before the king, brought there while she was bathing, given by the king and also by the Vidūṣaka leaves no doubt that she was wearing only one garment. The king seeing her in the half-wet garment, was immediately captivated by the physical charm of her features. He states his conviction that the heroine was brought there while she was bathing and supports it by pointing out the fact that she had put on only one garment, (Prkt., 'siaañcala'; Skt. 'sicayāñcala'). As she was taking her bath evidently she had poured water on some part of the body rendering certain portions of her single garment wet, thereby revealing the naked beauty of some of her features as the Vidūṣaka notes. Her garment must have been worn rather loosely as ladies do in Mahārāṣṭra even now, to enable them to wash all the parts with fair ease. When she found herself suddenly in the presence of august personages she must have begun to tidy her dress as much as she could so as to follow the dictates of female modesty. The king describes these actions of hers. He tells us that she was properly arranging one end of her garment which was intended to cover the breasts and which was slipping off from its proper place. This part of the garment is referred to in the text as 'pottañcala'. With the other hand she is represented as holding the waist-garment which had got displaced through movement (Km., I, 27). The description would lead one to think that the heroine had two garments on her person; one, the upper garment, which she was trying to keep in its proper place to cover her breasts, and the other, the lower garment, which too was being similarly treated. But this inference is not borne out as the correct one if we piece together all the references to the nature of the heroine's dress when she was suddenly presented before the king. We have just seen that in the very first reference to her clothing made by the king, she is distinctly spoken of as one who is wearing a single garment. Later on, too, when the king remembers her condition as she appeared to him he refers only to one garment, which is there called a bath-garment, 'ṇhāṇapottam' (Skt. 'snānavastram'), (Km., II, 24). The Vidūṣaka, too, refers to her garment as being wet and revealing her bodily charms, (Km., I,28). He too seems to have only one garment in view. It is clear from this that the heroine, when she appeared before the king for the first time, was clad in a single garment. The garment was worn in

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such a manner that a part of it was wound round the waist and the lower part of the body, the remaining portion going over the bosom and covering the breasts and the upper part more or less. The further description of the manner in which the heroine's garment was resting on her person and thus proclaiming her bodily charms can fit in properly only if she was wearing only one garment. The king gloating over his memory of the heroine describes to himself and to the Vidūṣaka indirectly the greatness of her bodily charms by minutely portraying the precise lie of the garment on her body. The garment was hugging close and lying rather low at the shoulders, thus indicating that they were sloping and not squarish. It was rather high and puffy in the region of the breasts, demonstrating the largeness of her breasts; it was again low and clinging in the region of the upper portion of the abdomen, showing the part to be thin and rather drawn-in. In the region of the lower part of the abdomen it was again raised and puffy revealing the expansiveness of her buttocks (Km., II, 24). From the fact that the heroine did not have on her any girdle, (Km., I, 24), it appears that a single garment could be worn without the aid of the girdle or that the girdle was usually laid aside at the time of bathing. A single garment was worn only at the time of bath; for in the description of the manner in which the heroine was dressed up by the queen's attendants it is clearly stated that she was clad in two silken garments, 'paṭṭaṁsuajualaa' (Skt. 'paṭṭāṁśukayugalaka') which were both of them dark green in colour like the feathers of a king-parrot. At the waist a girdle of emeralds was fastened on her (Km., II, 14-15). It may be noted that there is no reference to the bodice having been put on her; but we must remember that as the king already announced (Km., I, 14) the spring having set in, the ladies had discarded their bodices, which were worn in all probability only during winter. Two garments, one lower and one upper, with a bodice only worn in certain seasons must be taken to be the female dress described by Rājaśekhara in the 'Karpūramañjarī'.

Other references to the female clothing only support this statement. Thus in the third Act (v. 3) the king narrating his dream tells the Vidūṣaka how he caught hold of the loose end of the upper garment 'varilla' of the heroine and how the latter slipped away disengaging herself by simply leaving the garment in his hand. This is possible only if the upper garment is a cloth separate from the lower garment and worn rather loosely, being thrown over the shoulders. In the Vidūṣaka's description of the heroine trying to console herself on a swing it is stated that one got glimpses of her lovely form as her upper garment 'varilla' was tossed up by the breeze generated by the motion of the swing (Km., II, 36). This statement again fits in appropriately

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with the piece of apparel for the upper part of the body being a separate cloth thrown rather loosely over the shoulders like the scarf.

The play 'Viddhaśālabhañjikā' of Rājaśekhara affords us a fairly clear picture of the dress of an unmarried lass prevalent at least in the Mahārāṣṭra of his time. The king sees a most lovely lass in his dream and gets infatuated with her beauty. He and his friend, the Vidūṣaka, find later a painting which the king declares to be the picture of the lass seen by him in his dream. This girl is the heroine of the play. In the painting she is represented as being clad in a blue or dark green skirt, 'colaka'* (Vs., I, 34). The Vidūṣaka seeing the picture remarks, in order to whet the passion of the king, that the lass is proclaimed by her dress to be an unmarried girl. The king repeats his inference and corroborates it by an explanation. He tells us that the dress of ladies after their marriage was one which appared charming owing to the arrangement of the knot, 'nīviniveśasubhaga' (Vs., I, 33-34). Thus the chief distinction between the dress of an unmarried female and the married one was that whereas the former wore a skirt, which did not require the arranging of a knot, as her lower garment, the latter put on a garment which was held in its place by a knot which enhanced the charm of the dress. Unmarried females wore bodice as well as another upper garment. The former piece of apparel was worn by the heroine, before she was married to the king and is referred to in the play more than once. Thus in the second Act (v., 18) the emaciation of the heroine through her love-sickness is forcefully conveyed through the statement that her bodice, 'kañcuka', sits loosely on her. The heroine trying to comfort herself on a swing, is described as having confined her breasts in a bodice which sits rather loosely because of the thinness of her abdomen (Vs., IV, just after v. 6). The presence of a loose upper garment as a part of her dress-ensemble is to be inferred from the very first description of her given by the king in his narration of his dream. Thus he tells us that when he saw her in his dream he tried to hold her by the end of the hem of her silk garment, 'dukūlasyāñcala', (Vs., 1, 18). In the description of the heroine sporting with the ball occurs a reference to the end of the hem of her garment which is fluttering owing to her rapid movement in pursuit of the ball, 'vellitacelāñcalam', (Vs., II, 6). In the third Act (v. 16) the king describes the heroine as being clad in two fine China silk garments, 'tanunī cīnāṁśuke bibhrātī'. The heroine while comforting herself on a swing removed the garment lying over her breasts above the bodice as it was fluttering owing to its being rubbed against her arms which were raised to hold the strings

* I have rendered 'colaka' by 'skirt' because the meanings 'bodice', and 'gown' do not fit in the context as will be seen from the discussion of the dress of the heroine.

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of the swing, 'kuñjodaradaraśithilakañcukasthagitastanabharādapanīyate ūrdhvakarāgrakarṣaṇodvellodvasanam' (Vs., IV, just after v. 6). The upper garment which was thrown over both the shoulders could not properly remain in its place as both the hands were raised up and occupied in holding the strings of the swing. The heroine to free herself for her unfettered swinging must have removed it. Thus it is clear that the unmarried heroine had clad the upper part of her body in two pieces of apparel, one, the bodice and the other, the loose upper garment or scarf. The lower part of the body as already pointed out was dressed in a skirt which needs no tying of a knot ('nīvi').

In his work 'Kāvyamīmāṁsā' Rājaśekhara, following the lead of Bharata, classifies certain aspects of poetical compositions and locates them as peculiar to certain regions of India. Like his great predecessor he recognises three such aspects for classification and localization. They are, 'Pravṛtti', 'Vṛtti' and 'Rīti'. Bharata justifies the term 'Pravṛtti', 'appearance', as applied to that side of man's life which proclaims him and his country. It predominantly refers to the style of dress and ornaments. 'Vṛtti', 'conduct', stands for carriage and manners in general, while 'Rīti', 'style', refers to linguistic usage. But Rājaśekhara goes further than Bharata in propounding a theory of the origin of the different 'Pravṛttis' or appearances which are four in number according to both of them. In the opinion of Rājaśekhara they are the styles of dress and ornamentation, which his imaginary Sāhityavidyāvadhū, science of Poetics in the form of a lady, wore to attract the attention of the equally imaginary Kāvyapuruṣa, Soul of Poetry in the form of a gentleman. She followed him over a large part of India trying to win him for herself and finally succeeded in inducing him to marry her in the Berars. The style of dress and ornamentation adopted by the imaginary lady differed in the different regions and the one favoured by her in a particular region became afterwards the fashion for the female population of that region. Thus, the styles of dress prevalent in and peculiar to the different regions of India appeared to Rājaśekhara, in the first quarter of the 10th century A. D., to be more or less of divine origin and the result of divine æsthetic sense. They have a high value in æsthetics in general and poetics in particular. It is interesting to note that Rājeśekhara, who was a Mahārāṣṭrian by birth, shows his poetic divine male as having been won over with the help of the style current in India, South of the Narmadā.

'Auḍra—Māgadhī Pravṛtti' or the attire prevalent in Orissa and Magadha, which was put on by his imaginary divine female while traversing through the

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countries of North-Eastern India and which failed to captivate the divine male, is prevalent in the countries of Bengal and parts of Assam etc. The essence of this manner of attire lies in this that the ladies draw the garment over the upper part of the body so that it passes over the parting line of the hair on the head but leaves the shoulders bare, 'sīmantacumbisicayah sphuṭabāhumūlah'. 'Pāñcālamadhyamā Pravṛtti' represents the style common in Kashmir, among the Bāhikas and the Bālhikas, the Pāñcālas and the Śūrasenas, and may, therefore, be properly termed as the North-Western and Northern, though Rājaśekhara speaks of it as the style of the beauties of Mahodaya, i.e. of Kanauj. The ladies paint their temples, the patterns on which appear beautiful owing to the brilliant ornaments casting rays over them. They put on a necklace of pearls reaching up to the navel and slightly dangling over the body. The lower garment is worn in such a manner that it covers the hips and the lower part of the body upto the ankles, 'āśroṇigulphaparimaṇḍalitāntarīyam'.

'Āvantī Pravṛtti' is the style of apparel prevailing in the countries of Surāṣṭra, Arbuda, Avanti, Mālava, Vidiśā, Bhṛgukaccha and others. It is thus the Central and Western manner of dressing. The specific characteristics of this style are not mentioned. The general peculiarity is that whereas the males of these regions affect the mode of dressing current in the North-West, the females clothe themselves in the Southern style. This would be a very important piece of information, if correct, whatever might be the specific manner of female dressing prevalent in the South. As we shall presently see, the female dress of Surāṣṭra as described briefly or indirectly in the literature of the early part of the 12th century is quite different from the Southern dress. Rājaśekhara does not seem to have very much cared to observe the actual dress of the people in order to classify it. Nay his description of the southern dress is not quite clear. Having divided India into the well-known regions on the basis of some widely accepted difference in linguistic heritage and usage he seems to have stuck to it and tried to fit the peculiarities of dress, as far as known, to the grouping thus stabilized. What was more natural than a mixture of the Pāñcāla and Southern styles in the region lying between Pāñcāla and Southern India? Whatever the explanation of his assertion regarding the peculiarity of the dress of the people of Surāṣṭra, Southern Rajputana, Malwa and part of Central India, it is hard to accept it as current in his time. As a matter of fact, we can see from the evidence of sculpture that female dress round about Vidiśā at least had its analogues at Ajanta and Elora as well as at Mathura, while Gujarat, Southern Rajasthan and Saurāṣṭra show no such dress from the 12th century onwards, when it comes to be referred

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to or described in literature. The few sculptures of the 8th to the 10th century A. D., known from these regions do not contradict this evidence.

'Dākṣiṇātyā Pravṛtti' prevails in the countries of Kuntala, Mahārāṣṭra, Kerala Gaṅga and Kaliṅga. The ladies of these regions wore their lower garment in such a way that the knot, keeping it in its position is secured by arranging it at the side of the waist. Thus the dress would exactly correspond to the wearing of the 'sāri', represented in some of the sculptures of Bodhagaya, Sanci, and Mahārāṣṭra. It refers to the gathers being secured not at the navel where, in the manner of dressing prevalent in other parts of India, they were merely tucked in but at one side of the waist where a sort of regular knot was fastened ('kakṣāniveśanibiḍīkṛtanīvireṣaveṣaḥ')* (Kam., pp. 7-10). Rājaśekhara quotes a verse from somewhere praising the dress of females in spring. The garment which goes over the head is said to be gold-embroidered, (Km., p. 105).

According to Kalhaṅa's description the royal ladies of Kashmir used to wear bodices, 'kañcuka', even as early as the time of Mihirakula, which is about the beginning of the 6th century A. D. (Raj., I, 294). King Harṣa at the end of the

* The above interpretation which I have put on the expression is the most satisfactory. It may be objected that this type of dress is not known to have been in use in Malabar or Kerala whose dress is described by Rajasekhara. But such an objection applies to the very scheme of his, wherein there is supposed to be a uniform manner of dressing from Kalinga to Malabar. We must interpret the term Malabar in a rather free manner as only typical of South and not specifically the region called Malabar. There are three other interpretations possible. First, the expression may be translated thus: The knot is made secure with the help of the gathers being tucked in behind i.e. by arranging what is called 'Kaccha' or in Marathi 'kasota'. But this interpretation is open to the additional objection that the hind-tucked gathers do not in any away make the knot more secure. Second interpretation is given by Madhusudana Misra. It runs: "the knot is secured by means of the end of the garment". Perhaps thus interpreted it would correspond to that manner of wearing the 'sari' which is known in Marathi either as 'sogalyani nesane' or 'paravantane nesane'. The other end of the 'sari' is wound round the waist and is used to strengthen the knot. This interpretation entirely depends on the plausibility of the meaning 'end of the garment' ('antariyancala') given to the word 'kaksa'. No lexicon gives such a meaning. Professor A. S. Altekar, in his book 'Position of Woman in Hindu Civilization', (p. 350) takes it to mean the wearing of the garment 'from high above the navel, its knot being tied under the armpit'. This interpretation has the advantage that even now not only in Malabar but on the Nilgiri hills there are castes whose females tie their lower garments high above the breasts under the armpit. Such dress is represented even in the Ajanta frescoes. But the expression in the text cannot possibly yield this meaning. It would reduce the 'nivi' to an ordinary knot as opposed to the knot of the gathers which is its usual meaning.

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11th century is represented to have substituted the bodice from the Deccan for the one prevalent in Kashmir in his time as we shall presently see. From the peculiarity of the Deccan variety of that piece of apparel mentioned by Kalhaṇa we may conclude that the bodice previously worn in Kashmir was a long-sleeved one. In all probability the Kashmir variety to judge from the intended contrast with the Deccan variety must be construed to be either the usual North-Indian long-sleeved back-fastening one or, in the light of the sculptural and later historical evidence, the long-sleeved shirt-like tunic, which could not bring into prominence the shape of the breasts as effectively as the Deccan pattern of the bodice (Raj., VII, 930).

Describing the travels and hardships of the royal ladies of the family of king Yudhiṣṭhira I, Kalhaṇa portrays them as raising their hands to their heads "with their slipped off head-garment fastened at the breasts" ('stanayugatalanaddhasrastamūrdhāṁukānām'), (Raj., I, 373). Royal ladies used to wear a loose piece of garment over their heads and it was a mark of utter humiliation for them to take it off their heads and expose them. The Deccan fashions introduced towards the end of the 11th century included keeping one's head uncovered (Raj., II, 929). Thus at the end of the 11th century A.D., and according to Kalhaṇa's knowledge four or five centuries earlier, the ladies of Kashmir used to wear some piece of loose garment to cover their heads and at least among the royalty it was considered a disgrace to keep the head uncovered.

While Kalhaṇa has allowed us a glimpse into the dress habits of the females of Kashmir only by implication, he has very graphically described the dress of the Deccan ladies of his time, second half of the 12th century A.D. Describing the great doings of king Harṣa of Kashmir, who flourished towards the end of the 11th century A.D., Kalhaṇa informs us that the King, who was a devotee of beauty, liked the fashions of the ladies of the Deccan region with its centre at Bidar as the most becoming, and introduced them in Kashmir. The poet minutely describes the fashions of Deccan females as follows: "They wore their hair in long braids with golden Ketaka-leaf-ornaments braided into them and with bows of string woven with gold fastened at the ends of the plaits. They wore ornamental pendants on the forehead which rendered the forcheadmarks unsteady. They j oined the corners of their eyes with their ears by a line drawn with collyrium. Over the hair no veil was worn, ('nirnīraṅgika'). With the long tail-ends of their lower garments they kissed the ground. Their breasts were tightly confined in bodices which covered half the length of their beautiful arms, ('dākṣinātyābhavadhaṅgih priyā tasya vilāsinah...

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nirnīraṅgikakeśāntabaddhahemopavītakāh, adharāmbarapucchāntairlambai-scyumbi-tabhūtalāh, pracchāditardhadorlekhakañcukāṅkapayodharāh'), (Raj., VII, 925-930).

Hemacandra in likening the dress of the males of Surāṣṭra to that of the females of Gurjararāṣṭra by implication describes to us the dress current among the females of Gurjararāṣṭra (Dr., Vol. I, p. 432). Unfortunately he does not furnish us with any details. Abhayatilakagaṇi, commenting about the middle of the 13th century, supplies the information to some extent. The females of Gurjararāṣṭra wore a broad piece of cloth as the lower garment. It was broad enough to cover the ankles. They wore it in such a fashion that there were no pleats to be tucked, in all probability neither the hind ones nor even the front ones. The lower garment was simply a broad piece of cloth. It was held in place by its own knot (Dv., Vol. II, p. 7). There was another piece of apparel called 'uttarīya' 'upper garment' which was used to cover the upper part of the body. The two garments were so small and manageable that a lady in order to attract her lover's attention towards herself could afford to attempt dressing herself up in his presence, manipulating the upper cloth with one hand and the lower with the other. In this process she artfully disclosed the charms of her figure (Dv., Vol. I, p. 775). They wore girdles which made the jingling sound when the wearers moved in excitement and hurry (Dv., Vol. II, p. 510). They wore braids of hair which appeared very crooked like the letter 'ऌ' of the Sanskrit alphabet (Dv., Vol. I, p. 15) and their breasts were prominent and round like the letter 'ठ' of the same (Dv., Vol. I, p. 37). They are praised for not forgetting decorum even in the excited state of mind. Thus even when intoxicated in their amorous sports they did not use their fine lower garment for folding a turban on their heads, ('noṣṇīṣīcakrire nābhyam vasanāntam madepitāh'), (Dv., Vol. II, p. 408). By implication we may conclude that the ladies of the royal household as well as the camp followers used to wear ordinarily some kind of head-dress. Strange to say we do not come across any reference to the bodice.

Hemacandra's description of the doings of the females of the Maru country in their eagerness to see king Durlabharāja gives us some information about their dress. It seems that they wore their upper garment alone for covering the upper part of the body without any bodice or with the bodice of the open-backed variety. For we are informed that some of them coquettishly exposed the region about their arm-pits raising their hands under the pretext of scratching their ears (Dv., Vol. I, p. 555). The upper garment was used in such a manner that it covered the head, the bosom and the uncovered part of the abdomen. The part of the garment going

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on the head was drawn forward over the forehead so as to serve as the veil. This part of the garment is referred to as 'nīraṅgī' and is said to obstruct the wearer's vision so that to get a better and fuller view of the king some of them removed their veils from their heads, ('kācidaṁsātpataddādaridryamāṇodarāṁśukam, dṛśorprorṇonūyamānām nīraṅgīm kāpyudakṣipat'), (Dv., Vol. I, pp. 555, 556).

The expression 'udarāṁśukam' is paraphrased by the commentator as 'udarastanapidhāyakam vastram' 'garment covering the stomach and the breasts', while 'nīraṅgī' is rendered by 'mukhācchādakavastrāñcalam', 'the end of the garment covering the face'.

Among the people of Gurjararāṣṭra of Hemacandra's time it was a regular custom for unmarried girls to be dressed in a piece of apparel called 'colaka', which seems to have been a tailored garment covering in one piece the whole body, ('yaccolakamadhāstannādyāpi kanyātvamatyagāh'), (Dv., Vol. I, p. 738). The word 'colaka' is translated by the commentator as 'kanyocitam sarvāṅgīnakañcukaviśeṣam', 'a particular kind of gown covering the whole body and fit for unmarried girls'.

III

VEIL

'avaguṇṭhana', 'niriṅgi', 'nīraṅgikā' 'mukhapaṭa', 'śirovastra', 'yavanikā'.

In the 'Pratimānāṭaka of Bhāsa, Rāma asks Sītā to take off her veil ('avaguṇṭhana') when they were starting for the forest and the citizens had gathered together to have a look at them. Sītā does remove her veil and Rāma exhorts the persons gathered to have a good look round with the dictum "ladies may be seen without any blame [for the parties concerned] in a sacrificial session, in marriage festivities, during a calamity and in a forest", ('nirdoṣadṛśyā hi bhavanti nāryo yajñe vivāhe vyasane vane ca'), (Bh., p. 263: Pra. I, 285, 29). The widows of king Daśaratha when they went to the house where the image of the late king was installed were veiled. They removed the veil before Bharata to enable him to see their condition (Bh., p. 280: Pra. III, 147).

Vasantasenā's mother, having received from Śakāra ornaments for her daughter as an earnest of his desire to keep her as his mistress, sends the same to her daughter with her maid and asks her to go in the carriage bedecked with the ornaments. Significantly enough she asks her to put on her veil ('avaguṇṭhana') too (Bh., p. 237: C. IV, 28-29). This instruction must be taken to signify that even a courtezan, when

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she had accepted a suitor, had to use a veil in public, just as married women were expected to do.

Vāsavadattā, who was deposited with Padmāvatī as a married lady whose husband was away by her supposed brother, avoided the sight of the male in the person of the bachelor-mendicant. Padmāvatī was struck with pleasant surprise at this action of hers. She was glad that her charge and ward avoided the sight of male strangers as it was much easier to take proper care of such a female than of one who did not mind being in the company of strangers, (Bh., p. 8 : Sv., I, 12[6–9]). Evidently it was not a universal or obligatory custom for married ladies whose husbands were away to avoid the sight of strange males, otherwise Padmāvatī could not have been both surprised and pleased. On the other hand, it could not have been an altogether untoward practice to cultivate for a lady in that condition. In the plot of the drama, Vāsavadattā's not being seen by males upto a certain time at least is absolutely essential. The dramatist therefore depicts her as following a practice convenient to his plot but not opposed to custom, though not compulsorily enjoined by it, (Bh., p., 32 : Sv., VI, 13[19]). The veil she used to wear is called 'yavanikā', (Bh., p. 54: Sv., VI, 16[1]) Vāsavadattā in the company of her nurse was allowed to go to visit the temple of Yakṣiṇī outside the gate in a palanquin whose protective covering was removed because Vāsavadattā, being a maiden, might be seen by the people without any blame, ('kanyakādarśanam nirdoṣamiti kṛtvāpanītakañcukāyām śibikāyām') (Bh., p. 91 : Pr. III, 5[13]).

When Vasantasenā in the 'Mṛcchakaṭika' of Śūdraka hands over her slave-maid Madanikā to Śarvilaka as his wife she says that Madanikā has by her wifehood attained a status superior to that of Vasantasenā. In spite of this, Śarvilaka exhorts Madanikā to bow down to Vasantasenā, through whom she attained the difficult status of wife ('vadhū') and its accompaniment, the veil, ('avaguṇṭhana') (Mr., IV, 24). We may conclude from this that a married lady was expected to and also entitled to use a veil while moving in the public. This inference is rendered very much stronger by the fact that later in the play the title and status of a married lady, ('vadhū'), is conferred on Vasantasenā by the king. The messenger and officer of the king who delivers this message immediately thereafter puts the veil ('avaguṇṭhana') on her (Mr., X, 58[18-21]). The sentiment embodied in the observation of Cārudatta that it is not proper to look at another man's wife, ('na yuktam parakalatradarśanam'), (Mr., I, 541) is only a reflection of the general practice of married ladies going about with a veil on.

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Mālavikā was dressed in the attire, proper at the time of marriage. Yet when the queen offered her to the king as his wife he hesitated to take her hand; and his friends Vidūṣaka and Parivrājikā, reminded the queen that Mālavikā, who was a princess by birth and was to be a queen by marriage, was not properly attired for such a union. The queen thereupon admits her mistake and asks her maid to bring a particular kind of silk garment, which it would appear was the privilege of the queens and princesses only to wear. When the garment was brought, the queen draped it as a veil over Mālavikā and then offered her hand to the king who willingly took it, (M., V, from before v. 18 to before v. 19). It may be concluded from this that a woman could not get the status of a properly married wife unless she had worn a veil and was given the privilege of wearing one. When Śakuntalā was introduced in the court before Duṣyanta she is described by him as a lady with a veil, whose beauty is therefore not very clearly revealed. The word used for veil is 'avaguṇṭhana', which is rendered by Rāghavabhaṭṭa as 'saśiromukhaprāvaraṇa', 'a covering for the head and the face' (S., V, 13). Later Gautamī, the elderly lady-escort from the hermitage, asks Śakuntalā to put away her sense of modesty for a while as she would remove her veil in order to enable the king to see Śakuntalā's unveiled face and thus to recognise her (S., V, before c. 19). Evidently the veil, however thin it might be, was enough of a covering not to reveal the full features of the face and was used as a means of modesty. The idea was that ladies of position, married ladies as we may specify further, were not expected to allow themselves to be seen by males other than those of their immediate family.

The ocean is described as the face-ornament of the earth worn by her at her wedding. The expression for face-ornament ('vaktrābharaṇam'), is rendered as 'veil over the face for the sake of modesty' by Mallinātha (R., XIII, 8), ('lajjārakṣaṇārtham mukhāvaguṇṭhanam'). It is clear that a bride had to wear a veil so as to cover her face and it was probably white in colour.

A princess of the Sumha country is described as being open to public view without let or hindrance during a festival of ball which she was advised to celebrate (Ds., p. 207). We may take it that royal ladies in the Sumha country generally observed 'purdah'.

Bhāravi uses the simile of people looking to their heart's content at the face of a newly married lady, who bends down very much through modesty, when it is manifest owing to the veil being removed, ('vyaṁśukasphuṭamukhīmatijihmām

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vrīḍayā navavadhūmiva lokaḥ'), (Ki., IX, 24). The expression, 'vyaṁśuka' is rightly rendered by Mallinātha as 'from which the veil ('avaguṇṭhana') is removed'.

Bāṇa in his fanciful description of the ladies of Sthāṇvīśvara says that the [blue] veil, which they put on, was a mere customary appendage, really not necessary as the bees hovering round their faces, being drawn there by their sweet-smelling breath, formed a sufficiently dark extinguisher, ('surabhinihśvāsākṛṣṭam madhukara kulameva ramaṇīyammukhāvaraṇam kulastrījanācāro jālikā'), (H., p. 149). It is quite clear that the high-born ladies of Sthāṇvīśvara used to go about covering their faces with a veil, which, as according to the commentator Śaṅkara was also a sort of head-dress, must have depended from the head. When Rājyaśrī was brought to the place where she was to be given in marriage she was wearing red or orange-coloured veil ('aruṇāṁśukāvaguṇṭhitamukhī'), (H., p. 206). The Mātaṅga maiden who is brought with an extraordinary parrot with her before the king, Tārāpīḍa, wore a red veil, ('upariraktāṁśukaracitāvaguṇṭhanām'), (Ka., p. 21). 'Avaguṇṭhana' is rendered 'mukhācchādana' by the commentator. Patralekhā who is presented to Candrāpīḍa by his mother to be his maid, is described as wearing a crimson garment for her veil, ('śakragopakālohitarāgeṇāṁśukena racitāvaguṇṭhanayā'), (Ka., p. 192). 'Avaguṇṭhana' is rendered 'śiroveṣṭana' by the commentator. When Kādambarī desired to go out unobserved by her people she wore a red garment over her head ('padmarāgaratnaraśmivinirmiteneva raktāṁśukena kṛtaśirovaguṇṭhanā'), (Ka., p. 302). The flowers worn by her attracted towards her a swarm of dark blue bees which created the illusion of her having taken a blue veil, ('madhukarajālena nīlapaṭāvaguṇṭhanavibhramamiva saṁpādayatānubadhyamānā'), (Ka., p. 312). One of the activities of Kādambarī during her long separation from her lover, Candrāpīḍa, was to wear a mass of flowers on her head. The bees drawn by the scent of these flowers are fancied by the poet to make a blue veil over her. The idea of the blue veil leads the poet to attribute to Kādambarī the taking of lessons in putting on the dress of a love-sick woman approaching her lover with a view to be an expert in the art, ('śirasikusumagandhalolupena bhramatā bhramarakulena divāpi nīlāvaguṇṭhaneneva candrāpīḍābhisaraṇaveṣābhyasyantī'), (Kā., p. 259). It seems that a blue veil was taken by a woman more properly at night and that too by those who wanted to reach their lovers unobserved by others.

In the 'Priyadarśikā' of Harṣa, when the hero first comes across the heroine, he says to his friend, the Vidūṣaka: "She is a maiden who may be seen without any blame. Let us observe her without any reserve": ('nirdoṣadarśanā kanyakā

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khalviyam, viśrabdhamidānīm paśyāmah'), (Pr., p. 28, Act II). The same sentiment is more generically expressed in the play 'Nāgānanda' where it is said : "Maidens may be looked at without any blame" ('nirḍoṣadarśanāh kanyakā bhavanti'), (N., p. 10, Act I). Further, the Vidūṣaka, who got two red garments from the heroine as a marriage present, says that in order to avoid the nuisance of the bees he will dress himself like a woman, using one of the cloths as an upper garment of which he proposes to make a veil ('uttarīyakṛtāvaguṇṭhana'), (N., p. 41, Act III). It must be concluded from this that ordinarily ladies used to wear their upper garments in such a manner that a part thereof was turned into a veil.

Māgha twice describes the ladies of Kṛṣṇa's household being gazed at for the time by the people as they had removed their veils, implying clearly that generally such ladies wore veils and therefore could not be seen by the people. As they were alighting from their conveyance and while the attendants were engaged in removing the people who had gathered there, the ladies had their veils slipped off in the excitement of getting down. The people, who were still there, the attendants not having succeeded in driving away the whole crowd, gazed at the beautiful faces of the ladies in fear and admiration, ('yānājjanah parijanairavatāryamāṇā rājñīrnarāpanayanākulasauvidallah, srastāvaguṇṭhanapatāh kṣaṇalakṣyamāṇavaktrāśriyah sabhayakautukamīkṣate sma'), (Si., V, 17). 'Avaguṇṭhanapaṭa' is paraphrased as 'nīraṅgīvastra' by Mallinātha. While the ladies were going on horseback their faces were naturally uncovered by a veil (Ki., XII, 20).

In the 'Mahāvīracarita' of Bhavabhūti, Rāma tells Sītā to put on her veil in the presence of Paraśurāma, as he was of the status of her father-in-law, ('priye, ete guravah, tadapasṛtya kṛtāvaguṇṭhanā bhava'), (Ma., p. 63, II, after v–26). The commentator, Vīrarāghava, renders 'avaguṇṭhana' by 'ācchādana', 'covering'. It is clear from this that married ladies wore their veils in the presence of the elderly males belonging to their husband's families. Mādhava describing Mālatī to his friend tells him that the particular manner of dressing which was adopted by her clearly indicated her maidenhood. The dress was bright, tasteful and simple, ('ujjvalavidagdhamugdhanepathyaviracanāvibhāvitakumārībhāvā'), (Mm., I, p. 207). Jagaddhara makes the position clear by adding the information that the absence of a veil was the index of the person's maidenhood.

Vākpatirāja in his 'Gaüḍavaho' describes ladies at dusk having only the bluish net over their heads as ornament (G., V, 11-29). The expression in Prākṛt is

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'jāliāmaṇḍanam' which is translated by the commentator as 'jālikādipaṭṭādimayaśirovastram saiva maṇḍanam', head-scarf of net-like silk cloth itself serving as the adornment. The pose adopted by the ladies in removing their veils in order to see their lovers is poetically described by comparing it with the pose archers assume when drawing their bows (G., V, 1136). The Prākṛt expression, 'niriṅgivinivesa' means adjustment of the head-scarf or veil, ('śirovāsaso viniveśah').

Maṇkha in the 'Śrīkaṇṭhacarita' fancifully describes the Kailāsa mountain as the silken veil of the ladies in the form of the quarters (Sr., IV, 29). The expression used is 'kṣaumanīraṅgikā' which is paraphrased by the commentator, Jonarāja, believed to have flourished about the middle of the 15th century, as 'paṭṭavastrāvaguṇṭhanapaṭah'. In another place (Sr., XIII, 55) the poet fancies the beautiful and plentiful curly tresses arranged over the forehead so as to dangle there as an adornment as serving the purpose of a face-cloth, 'mukhapaṭa' or a veil. While in the case of another lady the bees drawn to her and hovering round her face allured by the fragrance of the blossom used by her as an ornament served to conceal or cover her face as with a veil of blue silken net, ('nīlapaṭajālikā'), (ibid.).

IV

FEMALE UPPER GARMENT

'Uttarāsaṅga', 'uttarīyavasana', 'uttarīyavāsas', 'udarāṁśuka', 'saṁvyāna', 'stanāṁśuka', 'stanottarīya'.

The Gopa-maidens felt very excited when they saw Kṛṣṇa enter the pool of water tenanted by the great serpent, Kāliya. They are described as having their upper garment slipped down, ('sambhrāntā galittottarīyavasanā'), (Bh., p. 544: B. IV, 1). In the play 'Avimāraka' the heroine makes use of her upper garment to hang herself with, ('uttarīyavāsasātmānamanudbadhya vyāpādayiṣyāmi'), (Bh., p. 167 Av., V, 33).

When the king brought Urvaśī back to her friends he described her condition as a gentleman could without giving offence. She was very excited and there was a tremor which was so great that the garland over Urvaśī's breasts was heaving owing to it. Later on the tremor subsided and its existence or persistence could be inferred from the slight heaving of the end of the garment that lay between the breasts. The garland must have been worn above the upper garment which was covering the breasts. It is simply called a garment and not specified as an upper garment (V., I, vv. 7-8).

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The king in his wild search for Urvaśī who had vanished refers to the colour of the breast-garment worn by her as being dark green ('śukodaraśyāma'). The breast-garment could drop off and fall down in excited motion of the wearer (V., iv, 17). It must have resembled the thin small scarf of the Punjabi and Sindhi ladies or of the Rajput ladies seen in the post-Moghul Rajput paintings and must have been lightly thrown over the upper part of the body.

The upper garment used in summer was so light and thin that it could be displaced or removed by breath and yet was studed or interwoven with pearls to provide cooling touch (R., XVI, 43). 'Stanottarīya' 'a garment covering the breasts' adhered closely to the breasts (R., XVI, 17). It is called 'uttarāsaṅga', too (K., v. 16).

Even in the hermitage the female inmates used an upper garment which, though it was a piece of bark, was tied in such a way as to cover the breasts (S. I., before v. 17). It or its flying ends are generally obliging enough to help the hero or the heroine by their pranks. Queen Bhānumatī had her upper garment entangled in a bush, thus delaying her and enabling her maid to warn her master, Duṣyanta, of the approach of the queen (S., VI, after v. 22).

The 'uttarīya' may be called 'vasana' (S., VII, v. 21) and is rendered 'upasaṁvyāna' by Rāghavabhaṭṭa.

In spring, ladies used to wear thin and orange-coloured cloth for covering their breasts (Rt., VI, 4). In summer they wore only a light cloth to cover their breasts ('staneṣu tanvaṁśukam'), (Rt., I, 7).

In Daṇḍin's 'Daśakumāracarita', queen Vasumatī is described as attempting to commit suicide by making a noose with the half portion of her upper garment, ('uttariyārdhena bandhanam viracya'), (Ds., p. 10). In the description of a sleeping damsel, the daughter of the king of Śrāvastī, her fine breast-garment, ('stanāṁśuka'), is said to be slightly displaced. This leads the author to fancy her to be the earth-goddess with her upper garment in the form of the milky ocean slipped off her shoulders (Ds., p. 189). From this we may conclude that while sleeping ladies used to cover the upper portion of the bodies with the loose garment which is described either as mere upper garment, 'uttarīya', or more specifically as breast-garment, 'stanāṁśuka'. The upper garment, 'uttarīya', put on by a lady, separated from her husband is described as worn out (Ds., p. 194). A royal maiden engaged in ball-sport is described as engaged in adjusting with one hand her breast-garment which had

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slightly slipped off, ('āgalitastanataṭāṁśukaniyamanavyāpṛtaikapāṇipallavam'), (Ds., 1, p. 210).

In the 'Kirātārjunīya' of Bhāravi Arjuna mentions the incident of the stripping off of Draupadī in the assembly by the Kaurava princes. It was her upper garment according to this statement that was forcibly removed, thereby outraging her modesty and insulting her husbands, the Pāṇḍavas ('hṛtottarīyām prasabham sabhāyāmājātahṛiyah'), Draupadī, having been won by the Kauravas in their gambling with Yudhiṣṭhira was a slave of theirs and as such, it appears, according to the notions of those times, was not entitled to the use of an upper garment, which by implication must be considered to have been the privilege of the free married ladies only. Some of the Gandharva ladies are described as having their silken garments covering their breasts slipped off while collecting flowers, while others as having exposed the region of their arm-pits in the act of managing their hair (Ki., VIII, 17-18). The poet in another place uses the imagery of a lady holding her upper garment, ('saṁvyāna'), a part of which was floating and fluttering in the air (Ki., IV, 28).

In Bhartṛhari's 'Śṛṅgāraśataka', a lady is described as having warded off the rays of the moon with her upper garment covering the bosom by holding it up on high, ('stanottarīyeṇa karoddhṛtena'), (Sub., II, v. 21).

Bāṇa in his 'Pārvatīpariṇaya' referring to various seductive activities of the Apsarasas designed to captivate Śiva speaks of the sweet jingling of bracelets in the act of adjusting the breast-garment that was slipping off the shoulders, ('bāhoh srastakucottarīyaghaṭanāmañjukvaṇatkaṅkaṇaih'), (pp., p. 12). We may conclude from this that modesty required the breast-garment to be in its place and that its conscious displacement was meant to be a seductive action worthy only of public women and not of ladies. In the 'Harṣacarita' are described the queens of king Prabhākaravardhana as engaged in festivities at the birth of Harṣa. While they were thus engaged, some of them held with their hands the portions of their upper garment hanging from the shoulders, one on each side. In this position they looked as if they were holding the strings of their swing, ('kāścitskandhobhayapālīlambamānalambottarīyalagnahastalilādolādhirūḍhā iva preṅkhantyah'), (H., pp. 189-190). Evidently these ladies had worn their upper garment thrown over the back of the shoulders with the two sides of it hanging over the chest on either side of the neck. They were thus very unsuitable for dancing and such other active occasions. The

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ladies therefore had to hold each one of the hanging sides of the garment in one hand to prevent the garment from dropping off. Others had evidently put on their upper garments in quite a different fashion, which rendered it unnecessary for them to hold them. There were others who had their fine upper garments torn up by their golden armlets on which the garments had to settle when worn in such a manner as to cover the upper part of the body with the ends turned over and allowed to dangle on the back. ('kāścitkanakakeyūrakoṭiviṗāṭyamānapaṭṭāṁśukottaraṅgāstaraṅginya iva taraccakravākasīmantyamānasrotasah'), (H., p. 100).*

Dissatisfaction with her childlessness of queen Vilāsavatī rendered her breathing hard enough to move her breast-garment, ('taralīkṛtastanāṁśukāstavāyatāh śvāsamarutah'), (Ka., p. 122). The upper garment slipped off in excited motion of its wearer (Ka., p. 165). One end of it could be used to ward off the rays of the Sun, ('ravikiraṇanivāraṇāya kuru śirasyuttarīyāṁśukapallavam'), (Ka., p. 166). A maid could roll up her upper garment and make a temporary seat of it for her master (Ka., p. 180). When Kapiñjala visited Mahāśvetā to implore her on behalf of his friend Puṇḍarīka, she washed his feet and wiped them dry with the end of her upper garment (Ka., p. 283). Kādambarī treated Mahāśvetā in identical manner. (Ka., p. 348). When Kādambarī was informed of Candrāpīḍa's movement to Ujjain at his parents' behest she was beside herself through disappointment. In this condition she ceased speaking even to her confidantes and simply laid herself down on her bed covering her head with her upper garment, ('śayanīye nipatyottarīyavāsasottamāṅgamavaguṇṭhya'), (Ka., p. 439).

The courtezans whose duty it was to bathe the king and who had therefore to bring jars full of water and pour them out on the body of the king had their large breasts tightly fastened by a garment, ('aṁśukanibiḍanibaddhastanaparikarāh'), (Ka., p. 31). Female ascetics, who had taken the vow of remaining unmarried, forming part of the company of Mahāśvetā and Kādambarī, had their large breasts rigidly confined in a white garment, contrasting with the red or orange-coloured lower garments they had put on, ('dhāturāgāruṇāṁbarābhiśca parivrājakābhih...sitavasananibiḍanibaddhastanaparikarābhisca'), (Ka., p. 371).

The heroine of 'Priyadarśikā' who is a maiden, wears a breast-cloth, which slips off from her breasts in her exertion of plucking the lotuses and the hero describes her with her breast-cloth slipped off as particularly charming to look at: ('yātā

*The commentator Sankara reads 'taranga' in place of 'uttaranga' and gives its meaning as 'uttariya' 'upper garment'. Either the original text as we have it is corrupt or the word 'taranga' read in the commentary ought to be 'uttaranga'.

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yā vigalatpayodharapaṭāddraṣṭavyatām kāmapi'). (This breast-cloth was a garment in addition to the upper garment.) We are told that the heroine when troubled by the bees covered her face with her upper garment. Later on, being assured by the approach of human steps, which she thought were her friend's, she removed it from her face (Pri., II, vv. 7-8).) In the 'Ratnāvalī' of Harṣa we are told that the breast-cloth of the heroine, slipped off from her was caught in the fire created by the magician (Ra., IV, v. 17).

In the 'Śiśupālavadha' of Māgha the sportive activities of the ladies of Kṛṣṇa's household on the Raivataka mountain are described at great length. One lady in front of her lover put out one of her hands to gather some flowers. In this act she exposed the nail-marks she bore on the beautiful region of her arm-pit. She immediately tried to cover that part of the body by drawing over it with the other hand her upper garment, to accomplish which she had to draw the garment very tight over her breasts, ('priyamabhi kusumodyatasya bāhornavanakhamaṇḍana-cārumūlamanyā, muhuritarakarāhitena pīnastanataṭarodhitirodadheṁśukena'), (Si., VII, 32). (Mallinātha rightly paraphrases 'aṁśuka' by 'uttarīya' 'upper garment'.) This description seems to fit in with a female dress which does not include a bodice or includes only a sleeveless bodice as its component.) But a little consideration would convince one that the situation described can be created even when a lady is wearing a bodice, and that too with sleeves, if it is a backless one cut rather deep at the sides so that a portion of the armpit-region could be exposed when the arms were raised to reach an object that is rather high up. As we have in another place in this work the description of the bodice as a piece of female apparel we must conclude that the bodice worn by the ladies was a backless one cut rather deep at the sides. The partial exposure of the region of the arm-pit is further mentioned as occurring when a lady was engaged in tying up her hair in a knot (IX, 69; VII, 40). Another reference to the upper garment and its use as a covering for the breasts occurring in this work must be interpreted in this context. We are told that the large breasts of another lady, engaged in the act of reaching some flowers rather high up on the tree, loosened by their swell the knot of her thin upper garment. The description must be taken, as Mallinātha has done, rather metaphorically to mean the slipping off of the garment, covering the breasts, ('prasakalakucabandhuroddhurorah prasabhavibhinnatanūttarīyabandhā'), (Si., VII, 34). Mallinātha remarks: 'Gātravijṛmbhaṇād visrastakucāvaraṇetyarthah'. Ladies' upper garment would appear to be quite often of orange colour while that of the male was of white colour. It is described how a

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lady getting up from her bed wherein she and her husband were sleeping picks up her husband's upper garment as her own, as it too appears rather orange-coloured owing to the rays of the early sun falling on it. (Si., XI, 52). For sportive occasions ladies generally preferred an orange-coloured upper garment, ('kausumbham pṛthu kucakumbhasaṅgivāsah'), (Si., VIII, 30). This upper garment was so worn that one end of it could float and flutter in the air, serving as a sort of a banner, in strong breeze, without displacing it totally from the body (Si., XIII, 36). The passage describes a situation observed in Indraprastha when the ladies of the place eagerly turned to see Kṛṣṇa as he arrived there. One of the ladies got on to the top of her house, where owing to her garment being blown by the wind she, as it were, raised a banner in honour of Kṛṣṇa with the end of her garment thus fluttering in the air. The word used is 'vasanānta' 'the end of the garment'. Though 'vasana' generally means the lower garment, I think I am right in taking it here to mean the upper garment, as 'aṁśuka' meaning 'garment' in general signifies also 'upper garment' in appropriate context.

We are informed in the 'Mahāvīracarita' of Bhavabhūti that the upper garment of Sītā which she had let fall when she was abducted by Rāvaṇa, bore the name of Anasūyā (Ma., p. 182, Act V). Vīrarāghava, commenting on it, remarks that the upper garment, 'uttarīya', being a present from Anasūyā bore her name. Anasūyā must have presented her own upper garment to Sītā. Upper garments often bore the names of their owners. In the 'Mālatī–Mādhava', Lavaṅgikā in the presence of the lover of Mālatī, Mādhava, and that of their common well-wisher, the Buddhist nun, takes off or removes the breast-cloth 'stanāṁśuka', of Mālatī to show to them the flower-garland which was worn by Mālatī on her breasts, as it was prepared by Mādhava himself (Mm., III, 1.186). Mādhava, the hero and the lover of Mālatī, made remarks showing some longing. Jagaddhara, commenting on this, points out that the longing or rather wistfulness was due to his having seen the bare breasts of his love, the breast-garment having been removed by her friend. May we conclude from this that very often for the upper part of the body unmarried ladies at least had no other garment than the so-called breast-cloth, which was otherwise known by the more generic name of 'uttarīya'? Makaranda, the friend of Mādhava, tells him how his lady-love, Madayantikā, embraced him regardless of the fact that her upper garment had slipped off from its place, when she saw him wounded (Mm., IV, 1.137). Jagaddhara, the commentator, paraphrases 'uttarīyam' by 'stanāvaraṇavāsah' 'cloth covering the breasts'. Madayantikā describing her condition tells her friends that in her fancies and dreams she sees her lover, Makaranda,

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catch hold of the end of her upper garment, slipping off from her throbbing breasts (Mm., VII, 1.145). She further states that in that condition she lets her garment go in order to move away from him and covers her large breasts with her arms so that the breasts may not be visible to him (Mm., VII, 11.148-150). Here again it is plain that the usual upper garment was the only covering for the breasts in the case of maidens at least.

For royal ladies to have their upper garment, or 'outer garment' as Telang renders it, falling off, which might happen in consequence of great grief or such other emotion, was considered a derogation. ('vakṣastāḍanabhinnaratnavalayam bhraṣṭottarīyaṁśukam'), (Mu., III, v. 5).

In the 'Amaruśataka', a lady suspecting the messenger, whom she had sent to fetch her husband or lover, of foul play asks her how the saffron-paste on her face had disappeared. To this the clever woman replies that it was wiped out by the upper garment rubbing against the face, ('bhraṣṭam kuṅkumamuttarīyakaṣaṇāt'), (Am., v. 113). From the fact that the reply was considered plausible we must conclude that a part of the upper garment was drawn over the head and the face.

Jayadeva speaks of the loose upper garment, ('urasi dukūlam'), as if it was the only piece of apparel covering the breasts (Gg., XII, 3). In another place he describes the purely amorous actions of a lady on beholding her beloved, one of which was to raise up her arms and thus to expose under a pretext the charms of her breasts (Gg., II, 12). This description also fits best that dress for the upper part of the body wherein the breasts are covered only with a loose garment or a cut-away bodice.

Maṅkha, describing Pārvatī as she was enjoying herself on the swing, refers to the end of her upper garment which was fluttering rather high owing to the breeze generated by her swinging motion as the victory banner of Cupid, ('vellolottarīyāñcala'), (Śr., VII, 66).

Śrīharṣa narrates the experiences of Nala when incognito he entered the palace of Damayantī to plead before her the cause of the divine personages who were her suitors. In the inner apartment as he was proceeding, seeing the breast-cloth of a damsel suddenly displaced by the wind he cast down his beautiful gaze, not bearing to see the bare bosom of a lady (Na., VI, 18). We may conclude from this that inside the house ladies did not wear a bodice but only a loose upper garment to cover their bosom. The description of a lady proceeding in excited haste

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to see Nala in the bridegroom's procession even suggests that not only was this the usual practice inside the house but even when desiring to peep out of the house ladies would go to the front or the windows in the same dress. One of the ladies in her eagerness to get a sight of Nala failed to notice that nearly half of her upper garment covering her bosom had been blown off from its place thus revealing one of her breasts. The poet fancies that with the uncovered breast she presented Nala with the auspicious pot, which is customary, 'ajānatī kāpi vilokanotsukā samīra-dhūtārdhamapi stanāṁśukam, kucena tasmai calate akarotpurah purāṅganāmaṅgala-kumbhasaṁbhṛtiṁ'), (Na., XV, 74).

Hemacandra, describing the ladies of the capital of the Maru country proceeding hastily in their eagerness to see king Durlabharāja of Gurjararāṣṭra as he arrived there to attend the self-choice marriage of the sister of the king of that country, mentions that some of them did not care to adjust their upper garment so as to cover their bosom and abdomen (Dv., vol. I, p. 555). It is noteworthy that the term for the upper garment used here is 'udarāṁśuka', 'a stomach-garment', which is paraphrased by the commentator as 'udarastanapidhāyakam vastram' 'a garment covering the stomach and the breasts'. It is clear that it was considered proper to wear the upper garment in such a manner that it not only covered the bosom but also the portion of the abdomen which remained uncovered by the lower garment.

V

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'kañcuka', 'kañculikā', 'kūrpāsa', 'kurpāsaka'.

In Hāla's 'Gāthāsaptaśatī' young women in villages are declared to enchant the hearts of the connoisseurs simply by the beauty of their breasts which are adorned only with madder-coloured bodices, 'kusumbharañjiakañcuiāharaṇamettāo', Skt.: 'kusumbharāgayuktakañcukābharaṇamātrāh'), (Ga., VI, 45). The nature of the bodice is revealed to some extent in the description ef his beloved to a lover. He is informed that the expansive breasts of the lady are not completely confined within her blue bodice but a portion thereof peeps out of it, ('ṇīlakañcuabhariuvva-riaṁ vihāi thaṇavaṭṭam', Skt.: 'nīlakañcukabhṛtorvaritam vibhātistanapṛṭham'), (Ga., IV, 96). This picture brings to mind the front-fastening short bodice rather than the back-fastening one. Another verse still more clearly defines the precise nature of the bodice through its reference to the space of about an inch between the two breasts exposed to view when the panels of the bodice are knotted together to fasten

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it. The verse may be thus translated: "The young lady as it were presents a specimen of her breasts to the eyes of the young men, having fastened her particularly dark bodice with its panels leaving an open space of the breadth of two fingers at their junction". The fastening of the bodice is done by bringing close the two panels and then tying a knot out of their ends. In this procedure just above the knot a little slit is left between the two panels of the bodice. This slit reveals the whiteness and the texture of the breasts to some extent, which are heightened by the contrasting dark colour of the bodice-cloth (Ga., VII, 20). As one commentator remarks, it is the kind of bodice prevalent in the far South that is referred to (Ga. (b), p. 89).

Ladies are said to wear 'kūrpāsaka', 'bodice', in the two colder seasons of 'hemanta' and 'śiśira', it being described as 'charming', (Rt., IV, 16; V, 8). The bodice fitted so tightly in the coldest season that the ladies are described as having their breasts tortured by it. The description of the wearing of the bodice early in the morning fits the kind of garment which was full and not backless. The hair were turned over the face in front so that it should not soil the back of the bodice—the wearing of the bodice being the first thing to be done in the morning—and the loose hair tied up afterwards. Evidently the bodice was not worn in the spring and summer seasons. In addition to the bodice, according to the most accepted reading of V, 8, ladies wore a coloured cloth to adorn and cover their breasts. In spring the ladies are described as adorning their rounded breasts with orange-coloured fine cloth, ('tanvaṁśukaih kuṅkumarāgagauraih'), (Rt., VI, 4).

A lady, separated from her husband, wears a bodice which is tattered and made of fine cloth of blue colour according to a usual interpretation of the expression 'nīlāṁśukacīracūḍikāparivṛtā' in a passage of the 'Daśakumāracarita' (D., p. 194). The expression in question has proved a knotty one; yet both Kale and Agashe in their notes see a reference to the bodice of the lady. One of the commentaries, 'Padacandrikā', is believed to render the term 'cūḍikā' by 'kūrpāsa', 'bodice'. But this explanatory word is found given in brackets and must be considered to be a restoration or emendation. The word 'cūḍikā' is not listed in Apte's 'Sanskrit-English Dictionary'. Blue colour of the bodice or garment far from being typical of a lady separated from her husband is associated with an 'abhisārikā', a woman who stealthily approaches her lover. The general description of her garments as worn out is already given at the beginning of the passage and a reference to garments or bodice again is rather strange and out of place. The context

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too makes reference to garments rather irrelevant. In the particular sentence the hair braided in one braid is the principal item of description and the expression above quoted occurs between the hair and its qualifying adjective, a most unlikely place for a reference to garments. In the commentary 'Bhūṣaṇā' we find 'cīracūḍikā' taken as one word meaning the bracelets, either of conch-shell or of ivory, worn on their wrists by ladies whose husbands are living. Taking this to be the correct way of interpreting the passage, there is still the blue garment and its connection with bracelets and the context to be explained which the commentator has not tried. In the commentary, 'Laghudīpikā', occurs the expression 'nīlāṁśukacūlikā' which, with some violence to lexicography, may be rendered as 'cloak of blue cloth'. Here again the fundamental discrepancy that a lady separated from her husband is shown wearing the dress of a love-sick woman approaching her lover stands out, even if we were to ignore the fact that the meaning of the word 'cūlikā' as given in Apte's Dictionary is quite different from what is, attributed to it in our interpretation. Altogether the expression is not clear and may be left out of account in considering the history of dress.

Bhartṛhari describes the piercing winds of the latter half of the cold season as undoing the breast-garments of ladies and raising horripilation on their heavy breasts, 'vakṣahsūtkañcukeṣu' (Sub., II, v. 99). The commentator renders the expression 'utkañcukeṣu' by 'udgranthikūrpāsakeṣu'. Thus in his view the 'kañcuka' worn by the female was the same thing as the 'kūrpāsaka' and was kept in place over the bosom by some kind of knot. The description seems to fit the front-tying 'coli' more than the back-tying 'kañculi'.

Bāṇa tells us that the ladies of Sthāṇvīśvara used to wear bodices (H., p. 148), ('kañcukinyah'). The varied preparations for the wedding of Rājyaśrī included the making of bodices overlaid or interwoven with bright pearls, (H., p. 203).

Māgha in his 'Śiśupālavadha', while describing the doings of the ladies of the royal household of Kṛṣṇa in their sojourn on the Raivataka mountain, mentions how they delighted the hearts of the youth when they exposed the regions near their arm-pits in the act of removing their bodices which had become very tight owing to the perspiration on their bodies, 'prasvedavārisaviśeṣaviṣaktamaṅge kūrpāsakam kṣatanakhakṣatamutkṣipanti'), (Si., V. 23). The same ladies when going on horse-back are described as having wavy bodices on their bodies, these pieces of apparel moving up and down owing to the movements of the ladies' breasts caused by the gait of the horses, ('valgadgarīyahstanakamprakañcukam'), (Si., XII, 20).

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In the 'Skandapurāṇa' as quoted by the commentator, Nārāyaṇa, a bodice, 'kūrpāsaka', is declared to be an article which like red lead a married woman must always wear as a life-prolonger of her husband, (Na., XV, 55), ('haridrām kuṅkumam caiva sindūram kajjalam tathā, kūrpāsakam ca tāmbūlam māṅgalyābharaṇam śubham, keśasaṁskāraśabarīkarakarṇavibhūṣaṇam, bharturāyuṣyamicchantī dūrayenna pativratā').

In the 'Amaruśataka' occurs the statement of a woman who was advised by her friends to get offended with her lover and was unable to do so. In justifying her inability to stand proudly off she states that when she meets him the joints in her bodice snap off by themselves in hundred places, ('sakhyah kim karavāṇi yānti śatadhā yatkañcuke saṁdhayah'), (Am., v. 11). 'Kañcuka' was thus a tailored garment with a number of joints in it. Amaruka describes the love-pranks of a husband or a lover in another verse. He begins by assuring his love or wife that she would look quite charming without her bodice and touches the knot of the bodice with a view to undoing it, ('tvaṁ mugdhasi vinaiva kañculikayā dhatse manohāriṇīm, lakṣmīmityabhidhāyini priyatame tadvīṭikāsaṁspṛśi'), (Am., v. 27). The commentator, Arjunavaramadeva, who must have flourished before the middle of the 13th century, commenting on the verse rightly points out that the bodice meant here is the one which is tied in front with a knot, as the word 'vīṭikā' can apply to this knot alone and not the other variety, the fastening of which is procured by a string called 'kaṣā' or 'tanikā'. He further states that the kind of bodice meant in this verse is the variety used in the South and known as 'colikā'. In spite of this fact which should imply the general use of bodice by ladies, in the same work we are told of the frantic efforts of a lady at the end of the sexual embrace to catch hold of her two garments which were lying about (Am., v. 90). This means that ladies slept and moved about in their household with only two loose garments on.

Vākpatirāja describes the amours of the ladies of the royal harem of Kanauj in the time of king Yaśovarman which sheds important light on the nature of the bodice worn then in that region of northern India. When Yaśovarman started on his tour of world-conquest the poet describes the rush of the citizens to see him. Some of the ladies in their haste and in their desire to get a glimpse of him stood sideways covering their right leg with the left. In this pose they unwittingly exposed their left breast (G., v. 202). If it was the custom to put on a loose upper garment over the bodice it would naturally, in the position described, be dishevelled so as not to cover the figure completely. Thus whether the ladies used an additional

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loose upper garment or not the bodice worn by them must have been such that in a sideways view, if the loose upper garment were not in position, the sides and also some portion of the breast were exposed to the public gaze. Ordinarily ladies took care to conceal the sides by properly adjusting their loose upper garment. In haste, in excitement and such other conditions the bodice could reveal some part of the breasts. The bodice must be inferred to have been of the open-back-variety which alone, if it did not sit properly, is capable of revealing some region about the breasts in a sideways view. The royal bards in praise of the royal ladies inform us that their breasts were so firm that when the king placed his hand at the junction of the fastening cord of their bodices in order to undo the tie it simply slipped off (G., v. 731). The Prākṛt text has 'jālasutta', 'net-thread', which is rendered by the commentator in Śanskrit as 'jālakasūtra', 'thread of the net', and is paraphrased as 'thread for tying the bodice', ('kañcuka'). When the hand did succeed in unfastening the tie of the fastening cord the sides of the breasts shone, slightly revealing the three folds of skin below the bust, (v. 732). The Prākṛt text reads 'jāliyāvalaya' which is rendered into Sanskrit as 'jālikāvalaya', 'ring of net', and is interpreted by the commentator to mean, 'the knot of the joint of the bodice', ('kañcukasandhibandha'). The two verses describing the kingly attempts at and success in removing the bodices of the royal ladies paint the picture of a bodice which is long enough to cover the fleshy folds, beloved of the poets and of the husbands of the ladies, which could be revealed only in the act of unfastening the tie. This bodice was plainly kept in its place by the fastening of a net of strings or a string which was probably ornamentally woven so that it was tubular in shape and cellular in appearance, which fact may explain its description as 'jālaka' or 'jālikā'. When the tie was undone first the sides of the breasts shone. All this description fits best the open-backed long bodice, which covers large part of the abdomen and is fastened at the back, or may be at the side, by means of a string which as fancied by the royal ladies of Kanauj of king Yaśovarman's time was intricately woven in tubular shape. This was one type of bodice. In the case of some other ladies of the royal household we are told that their tight bodices pressed hard on the nailmarks made on the region of the breasts by their husbands and that when the knot of the bodice was undone the breasts appeared like the moon with its spots, the breasts being likened to the moon and the blackened nailmarks to the moon-spots (G., v. 733). The Prākṛt expression is 'gāḍhakavāḍa' which is translated by the commentator as 'bodice which was tight like the panel' ('gāḍho nibiḍo yah kapāṭaka iva pāṭakah kañcukah'). The bodice contemplated in this passage cannot surely be identified with the variety of bodice pictured in the description given above. The reference

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to panels, as will be easily realized, links it up with the front fastening short and tight bodice which is knotted with the ends of the two panels just under the breasts and between them. This bodice, then, must be taken to represent a second variety. Other ladies, still, are described as having their nostrils puffed out owing to their hard breathing which was caused by their tight bodices pressing heavily on their necks as their lovers in haste were pulling off their bodices over their heads (G., v. 734). Evidently the type of bodice represented by the above description is the one which is taken off by pulling it out over the head and must have been slipped in its position over the head and the neck. It would thus appear to be a third variety of bodice which was closed and had no fastening arrangement, which was not necessary, as when slipped over the head and passed over the breasts like the modern pull-over it would sit smugly over the body.

These are the various ways in which, according to Vākpatirāja, the bodices ('kañcua' Skt.: 'kañcuka') of the ladies of the royal household were being taken off by their beloveds (G., v. 736). In the description of the wives of Yaśovarman's soldiers the poet speaks of the slight opening between the two breasts, where they come nearest to each other and where the front-fastening bodice is knotted, as the third eye of Śiva confined there by the ladies (G. v. 757). This is clearly the front fastening type of bodice and must be considered to be the most common variety used by common people. The Prākṛt text uses the expression 'kuppāsantaram' which is translated by the commentator as the spot where the breasts nearly meet and where lies the centre of the bodice, ('kūrpāsasya kañcukasya antaram madhyam stanasandhivicchinnasthānam').

Rājaśekhara, a Mahārāṣṭrian by origin, living at the courts of Kanauj, and of Cedi (modern Bundelkhand), refers to both 'kuppāsaa' and 'kuñculiā' and 'kañcua' as pieces of apparel used by ladies to cover their busts. In the 'Karpūramañjarī' the king describing the advent of spring speaks of ladies having given up wearing their bodices, 'kuppāsaa', (Km., I, 13). 'Kūrpāsakam colikā' observes the commentator, Vāsudeva (Km. (b) p. 12). By implication it means that bodices were worn in winter to ward off cold. In the quarrel between the queen's maid and the Vidūṣaka regarding learning and the ability to compose poetry, the former twits him with using inappropriate and disproportionate terms and conveys her meaning by giving similies. One of these similies of inappropriateness is the putting on of a trig bodice ('kañculiā') on a pot-bellied woman (Km., I, 207). The distinction, if any, between a 'kuppāsaa' and a 'kañculiā' is not at all clear. In the play 'Viddhaśāla-

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bhañjikā' the heroine is described as enjoying the pleasures of the swing in the company of her friends. There we are informed that she wore a bodice ('kañcua'), which, though slightly loose owing to the thinness of the abdomen, confined her heavy breasts, (Vs., IV, after v. 6). In the description of the heroine's love-sickness her emaciation causing her bodice and its knot to sit loosely on her body is referred to (Vs., II, 18). The expression 'pasiḍhilaṇīviakañcuam' must be translated as 'in which the bodice had its knot rendered very loose'. The heroine was pining away and the expression is used to describe very graphically her shrinkage. The bodily emaciation was so great that the bodice which was fit and trig formerly was now very loose. Its knot could no longer sit tight on the divide of the breasts. This use of the word 'nīvi' to mean simply a knot without reference to the female lower garment is perhaps unique in Sanskrit literature.

Bilhaṇa describes the breasts of ladies as being so firm and large as to tear their bodices ('kañcua'), (Vi., VIII, 45). In the eager haste of the ladies of Kalyan to see king Vikrama as he returned there some of them did very funny things. One of them, for instance, took up her bodice to put it on and yet forgetting to wear it she proceeded to the place whence she could see the king (Vi., XII, 24). We may conclude that the bodice as a piece of apparel was meant rather for wear in public than in private surroundings.

Kalhaṇa informs us that a king of Kashmir, Mihirakula, (early 6th century A.D.), proceeded to conquer the king of Simhala or Ceylon being enraged at his stamping the cloth exported from his country with his foot-prints. Once he noticed that the breasts of his queen, who was wearing a bodice, ('kañcuka') made of cloth from Simhala, were marked with golden foot-prints. Inflamed he asked the reason of it and was informed that all cloth coming from Simhala was marked with the foot-prints of the king of that country (Rāj., I, 294–295).

Maṅkha fancifully ascribes to the bodice, ('kañcuka'), the actions which a lover does towards his beloved. Thus it is said to cling round the neck, confine the arms and press the breasts (Sr., XV, 11). A lady seeing that her lover was gazing at her put on her bodice ('kañculikā'), to conceal her breasts. But her feeling of passionate love made it burst, thus exposing her breasts to the great delight of her lover (Sk., XIII, 32). Here we see that ladies did not wear their bodice at all times but only when and if necessary.

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VI

FEMALE LOWER GARMENT

'Ambara', 'aṁśuka', 'antarīya', 'jaghanāṁśuka', 'nivasana', 'paridhāna', 'vasana', 'vastram', 'vāsas', 'sāuli'.

Hāla refers to the knot whereby the lower garment of a woman is held in its position as 'vatthagaṇṭhi' (Skt.: 'vastragranthi'), (Ga., VII, 46). A young lady is advised to adjust her lower garment as it was being displaced by the wind thus exposing the upper part of her thighs with their nail-marks, ('vāuvelliasāuli', Skt.: 'vātodvellitavastre'). In all probability the garment was worn in such a manner that one part of it covered the upper portion of the body; for in one verse we are told that a lady got herself disengaged from her lover by forcibly snatching away the end of the portion of her garment which he had taken hold of ('acchoḍiavatthaddhantarapatthie', Skt.: 'balādākṛṣṭavastrārdhāntaprasthite'), (Ga., II, 60). If it were merely the end of the loose upper garment that was caught hold of, then, as is generally described, the lady would have simply slipped off, leaving the garment in the hands of her lover.

Gopa-maidens are described as having put on lower garments of varied hues in preparation for a festive dance with Kṛṣṇa, ('nānāvirāgavasanāh'), (Bh., p. 539: B. III, 2). In Kālidāsa's 'Vikramorvaśīya, the king in a very excited and imaginative mood during his search for Urvaśī describes a foaming river as if it were Urvaśī herself dragging her white garment which had got loose in her excited and hurried motion, (V., IV, 52). The lower garment of the females must have been worn in a manner which made it necessary for it to be kept in position by mere tuckings or fastenings which were not strong enough to stand the strain of hurry and excitement. As the garment is fancied to have been trailing and dragged, it must have been more of the type of the 'sāri' rather than of the 'ghāgrā', which can hardly be imagined as being dragged by the wearer. The lower garment ('vastra') is described as clinging to the loins of ladies after bath (R., XVI, 65). A river with its rapid current is fancied to be a lady moving briskly and hence in a faltering gait and the eddies of waters of the river are fancied to be the navel of the lady bared owing to the lower garment slipping down as the result of the quick and faltering movement (Me. 28). The lower garment was thus generally worn by ladies in such a manner as to cover the navel. And as the commentator, Sthiradeva, observes, baring of the navel under some pretext or another was a display of one's sexual charm intended

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to attract the lover or to invite him to sexual embrace. The lower garment is called 'vasana' (Ś., VII, v. 21) which is rendered 'antarīya' by Rāghavabhaṭṭa.

The lower garment ('nivasana') was evidently of different material according to the nature of the season. Thus winter garment is referred to (R., XIX, 41), ('haimanam nivasanam'). The garment was treated with some smelling substance like incense. Either because of this treatment or rather, as Mallinātha would have it, because of some other unspecified treatment, the garment could give out a murmuring sound (R., XIX, 41. Mallinātha quotes Amara: 'atha marmarah, svanite vastraparṇānām', 'marmarah is the sound produced by garment or by leaves').

Lower garment is called 'nivasana' (S. IV., before v. 13).

Ladies are described as having adorned their thighs ('ūru') with coloured silk garment, ('sarāgakauśeyavibhūṣitoravah') (Rt., V, 8). The lower garment of ladies would thus appear to be considered as mainly necessary for covering the thighs. In spring the lower garment was dyed saffron-red, ('kusumbharāgāruṇita') (Rt. VI, 4). It is described as 'red-coloured like the young sun', ('taruṇārkarāgam'), (K., III, 54). It is even said to surpass the colour of Aruṇa in one place, where Mallinātha interprets the expression to mean that the garment was dyed with 'safflower' ('kusumbha')

Vasantasenā goes on a rainy evening to the house of Cārudatta. She has her umbrella-bearer with her. But the rain was pouring, and she is described as being wet, her hair dripping with water and her feet full of mud. Cārudatta, the lover, tells us that one of her breasts was drenched with the water dropping down the kadamba flower which she had placed on her ear, suggesting through this description that the other was either dry or could not be properly seen by him. Yet in the very next sentence he declares that both the garments ('vāsasī') of Vasantasenā were drenched with water and asks the Vidūṣaka to bring two high-class garments ('pradhānavāsasī') for her to wear, (Mr., V, 38). It is clear that Vasantasenā had put on only two garments. That fresh dry garments for her could be possibly fetched from Cārudatta's house implies that the garments were pieces of cloth rather than sewn garments. Presumably one served as the lower garment and the other as the upper. If both these garments were wet naturally both the breasts must be drenched. Yet Cārudatta has described only one breast as drenched. We therefore cannot attach great significance to the lover's description of his mistress and conclude with R. D. Karmarkar (Mr., p. 440) that the garment was worn more or less

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in the contemporary manner of wearing a 'sāri', which leaves one of the breasts uncovered, partially at least, by the 'sāri'. A lady's dress was formed by two unsewn garments.

On her first venture to the house of Cārudatta Vasantasenā is described as wearing a red-silken garment whose hems were in motion owing to the wind generated in her quick movements to avoid Śakāra and his companion ('raktāṁśukam pavanaloladaśam') (Mr., I, 20).

In Daṇḍin's 'Daśakumāracarita', a prostitute, waiting upon an ascetic in his hermitage with the sole purpose of seducing him, is described as wearing a pair of freshly washed garments ('dhautodgamanīyavāsinī'), (Ds., p. 83). The sleeping princess of the Aṅgas has only one garment on her person, which is the lower garment. It being of fine China silk is described as clinging to her body, ('atisliṣṭacīnāṁśukāntarīyam'), (Ds., p. 127).

A lady separated from her husband is dressed in two garments which are both worn out, ('kliṣṭanivasanottarīyā'), (Ds., p. 194). A royal maiden playing with the ball appears lovely through her lower garment hanging from her loins being moved to and fro, ('nitambavilambitavicaladaṁśukojjvalam') (Ds., p. 210).

Bhāravi describing the sportive and seductive activities of the Gandharva ladies and the divine courtezans refers to their lower garment, 'aṁśuka', 'antarīya', with its gathers or knot at the navel getting loose through the knot giving way and being held partially and precariously in its place by the waist-girdle (Ki., VIII, 16, 24; IX, 47-48; X, 54). The lower garment was worn in such a fashion that one of its ends, covering one of the thighs, could be removed or blown off from its place by the wind so as to expose the thigh (Ki., X, 45).

Bhartṛhari tells us that in winter the ladies put on a garment dyed red with madder, 'mañjiṣṭhavāsobhṛtaḥ' (Sub., II, v. 97). The commentator remarks that the practice of wearing red or orange-coloured garments was ordinarily more appropriate for the spring season and that Bhartṛhari's description must therefore be taken to be based on some authority not commonly known. May it be that Bhartṛhari drew upon some local or regional peculiarity? He describes the chilly winds of the cold season as loosening the knots of the lower garments of ladies ('saṁsrayantoṁśukāni') (Sub., II, v. 99). This expression is rightly explained by the commentator to mean the loosening of the knots of the lower garments and not of the garments themselves.

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The extensive preparations for the wedding of Rājyaśrī included the weaving or dying or beautifying of various fine garments. In the description of all this figure cloths on which spots with saffron-paste were just being marked, others on which beautiful foliage was being painted on their wrong sides so that on the proper side the whole should look very natural ('ārabdhakuṅkumapaṅkasthāsakacchuraṇaih... kuṭilakramarūpakriyamāṇapallavaparabhāgaih') (H., p. 202). A. B. Gajendragadkar in his notes on 'Harṣacarita' takes 'parabhāga' to mean 'skirts' for which there is no authority either of a commentator or of a lexicographer. The meaning of 'parabhāga' according to 'Amarakośa' is 'intensification of beauty'. The garments are described as being light like the slough of a serpent or soft like the internal fibre of the plantain tree, as being capable of being moved or removed by breath and finally as things whose presence could only be inferred by touch and not sight (H., p. 203).

In the 'Ratnāvalī' of Harṣa the queen dressed for the celebration of the Madana-festival wore a garment whose ends were dyed red or orange with safflower (Ra., I, v. 20) ('kausumbharāgarucirasphuradaṁśukāntā').

Māgha informs us that in their hurry and curiosity the ladies of Indraprastha intent on seeing Kṛṣṇa unwittingly did a number of funny things. One of these was that some of them wore their two garments, the lower and the upper, having interchanged them. Thus the upper garment meant for covering the breasts, 'kucāṁśuka', was put on as the lower garment, 'paridhāna', while the one meant for the lower part was used as the upper garment, ('parivartitāmbarayugāh samāpatan') (Śi., XIII, 32). It is clear from this that there was some difference between the two garments to render their interchange fairly ludicrous, though at the same time the garments were similar enough to lead a lady in excitement to interchange them in wearing and to cover the parts to be covered even with this interchange. The upper garment, that is to say, could not have been a very narrow scarf but must have been fairly broad. The general pattern of the two garments must not have been entirely different.

The lower garment, 'vasana', of a lady, who got up from her seat in extreme haste as she saw her beloved approaching her, gave way and would have fallen off exposing her body. She held the gathers and the knot in her hand and adjusted her garment at its proper place, slyly giving a view of her thigh in the act (Śi., IX, 75). The portion of the garment which was gathered in pleats and then knotted was thus pulled off with a view to getting a tight hold on it and knotting it, the momentary pulling away exposing to view the thigh which was covered by that portion.

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When a lady's lover catching hold of one part of her lower garment pulled it away, she, seeing that one of her thighs was thus exposed and wishing to cover it pulled at the other end which was covering the other thigh so as to draw it over the exposed thigh (Śi., X, 83). In all probability, the poet wants his readers to infer that this act of the lady not only defeated her purpose but actually helped the fulfilment of the desire of her beloved by exposing the other thigh.

In the Mālatī-Mādhava of Bhavabhūti are described ladies as they appeared when they came out from a bath in a river. Their garments being drenched with water were clinging so close to the body that the high and the low features thereof were revealed. They had placed their crossed arms on their plump breasts to cover them from the public gaze (Mm., IV, II. 148-151). The commentator seems to explain the lines on the basis that a lady wore one garment so as to cover not only the lower part of the body but also the upper portion. The garment having been wet revealed the hips and the breasts to cover which latter the lady crossed her arms over them. I think we are not justified in taking the description to apply to the wearing of one garment to cover the whole body. It may just as well be that the ladies at the time of entering the river for a dip put off their upper garments. They did not mind tne exposure of the breasts as long as they were immersed in water as they would not be quite gazed at; but as soon as they came out of the water, knowing the situation, they covered their breasts in the usual and natural manner before they could have change of garment and could wear their usual upper garment.

In the experiences of a sexual embrace narrated by a lady in the 'Amaruśataka', we are informed that when her husband or lover came to bed with her the knot of her lower garment loosened by itself and the garment itself remained only in part on her thighs held there by the girdle which itself was unfastened ('kānte talpamupāgate vigalitā nīvī svayaṁ bandhanāt, vāso viślathamekhalāguṇadhṛtaṁ kiṁcinnitambesthitam'), (Am., v. 101).

In the 'Veṇīsaṁhāra' of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, Bhīma while killing Duhśāsana refers to his action of divesting Draupadī of her garment, 'paridhāna', in the presence of elderly males, (Ve., III, v. 47).

Bilhaṇa, describing the amorous behaviour of the ladies eager to see king Vikramāditya as he returned to Kalyan, poetically narrates the doings of some ladies who were putting their ornaments and garments in their places. In looking at her ear-ornament, and at the end of her garment to assure that they were in their

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place properly adjusted, the eyes of one lady made a journey of eight miles and over, ('dṛśāṁ...karṇāvataṁse ca nijāñcale ca gatāgatam yojanamātramāsīt'), (Vi., XII, 33). This is very reminiscent of the actions of Hindu ladies, especially of the Deccan, who have to attend to the end of their lower garment which passes over the upper part of the body. Generally they tug at it so frequently that their eyes in attending to it may be poetically described as performing a long journey. This description must be taken to apply to that end of the garment which passed over the upper part of the body. Hence the lower garment of the ladies of the Deccan in the fourth quarter of the 11th century A. D. must have been worn in such a manner that one part of it was used to cover the upper part of the body, the breasts being confined in a bodice. A river in spate is fancied to be a female approaching her lord, the sea, with the end of her silken garment in the form of waves dropping off, ('pariskhaladvīcidukūlapallavā') (Vi., XIII, 82). This description too fits the above-mentioned manner of wearing the lower garment.

Śrīharṣa's description of the way in which the lower garment of ladies in the inner appartment slipped off leads us to think that the garment was very loosely worn. We are told that when Nala entered incognito the private apartment of Damayantī before his marriage, once finding that a lady not having seen him was passing too near him he tried to avoid her by drawing himself away. In spite of his vigilance and agility some ornament of his got stuck in the lady's garment. As he moved away from her with some force the ornament dragged away the garment of the lady (Na., VI, 28). This garment, whether so loosely worn or tightly fastened at the waist, is described to be the only garment worn by Damayantī after her marriage in her bed-chamber. It was worn so that a part of it could be and was drawn over the upper part of the body to cover the bosom. Thus we are told that Nala looking at Damayantī, who had worn one garment covering her thighs and the bosom, simply smiled because owing to the thinness of the garment the features which she had tried to conceal by the garment were seen through it. Thereupon she tried to draw up the ends of the garment over again to cover the parts thus exposed to view (Na., XVIII, 4). In the sports played by Damayantī and Nala the latter successfully drenches her garment, ('vastram'), which is spoken of only in the singular, and thus reveals to his feasting eyes her breasts, she being reduced to the state of an ascetic of the Digambara Jaina sect, viz. the nude sect (Na., XX, 129). In another place the lover speaks to his beloved conveying his envy of the fine cloth, ('vāsas'), again used in the singular, which embraces her thighs and buttocks and clings to her breasts (Na., XX, 148). The one and the only garment is spoken of as covering the lower part as well as the upper part of the female body.

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According to Hemacandra the females of the countries of Vāhīka and Uśīnara wore garments made of fresh and untreated wool (Dv., Vol. II, p. 276).

VII

GIRDLE

'kakṣyā', 'kaṭisūtra', 'kāñcī', 'mekhalā', 'raśanā', 'rasanā'.

The girdle-zone of Vasantasenā looked picturesque owing to its pearls, 'tārāvicitraruciraṁ raśanākalāpam' (Mr., I, 27).

Screaming birds riding on the waters of a river are fancied to be the waist-girdle, ('kāñcī'), of the lady in the form of the river. The girdle thus could make jingling or sharp sound when a lady was in rapid motion (Me., 28).

Heavenly damsels, sent by Indra to seduce persons engaged in severe austerities are described as disclosing their girdles, ('mekhalā'), under one pretext or another as one of the amorous activities calculated to evoke sexual passion in the person performing austerities. (R., XIII, 42). It appears that the girdle, ('mekhalā'), was worn in such a manner that normally it could not be manifest to others. In this connection it is relevant to refer to the description of Viṣṇu in 'Kumārasaṁbhava', where he is described as having placed his foot on the thighs of Lakṣmī, the girdle, ('mekhalā'), over which was covered by her silken garment (R., X, 8). The girdle is also described as resting on the hips, ('śroni' or 'śroṇibimba'), (R. XIX, 40 & 45). In summer the belt, ('mekhalā'), worn was made of jewels, (sapphires?) (R., XIX, 45).

The girdle is called 'mekhalā' and is described as having a central jewel. It is clear from the description that it rested below the central knot or tucking up (K., I, 38). It would be of gold and is described as rather long or dragging, evidently as against another that could be short (K., VIII, 81; Rt., I, 6; VI, 24), ('ālambihemarasanāh'). In spring perhaps it was fashionable to wear a girdle, called 'kāñcī', made of some flowers (K., III, 55). It could easily slide down from its place in walking and thus cause obstruction, (K., III, 55; M., III, before 20, and vv. 20-21).

'Raśanā' which is translated by the commentators as 'mekhalā' was evidently made up of jewels and was prepared by ladies themselves by fixing one end of the thread on the toe and passing perforated jewels through the other end. (K., VII, 61; R., VII).

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As the 'raśanā' slipped down to the feet it could obstruct the wearer's gait. When disengaged from the feet it could be used as a whip for striking (M., III, from before v. 20 to v. 22). In this particular case it was made of gold strands or cords (M., III, v. 21; R., XIX, 41). It too could make jingling sound when the wearer was in motion (R., VIII, 58). The 'raśanā', ('raśanākalāpa' means 'the ornament called 'raśanā' and not a bunch of strands'), is described as ceasing to make sound when the wearer has bathed in a river. The strands or threads of the 'raśanā' being soaked in water the jewels no longer moved here and there and the 'raśanā' ceased to make the sound. The sound of the 'raśanā' was thus due to the movement of jewels and their percussion and not to attached bells or such other devices (R., XVI, 65).

Golden cords of the 'raśanā' were manifested to Agnivarna by his wives to attract him to sexual dalliance in winter (R., XIX, 41). Mallinātha explains that the gold cords of the 'raśanā' or the 'mekhalā' were manifested by taking advantage of the unsteadiness ('laulyāt') of the garments or the girdle.

The milky ocean is fancied by Daṇḍin to be the waist-belt, 'raśanā', of the lady in the form of the earth (Ds., p. 243). A royal maiden is described as adjusting the jingling and jewelled strands of her belt during her ball-sport (Ds., p. 210).

In the 'Kirātārjunīya' of Bhāravi the waist-girdle, ('kāñcī'), of a lady is fancied to be her friend protecting her modesty by holding her lower garment so as to keep the body covered in some way when it could have dropped down and exposed her body, as the knot holding the garment in its position had slipped off (Ki, VIII, 51; IX, 48). The girdle, 'kāñcī', was evidently made of some material like cotton threads as it could get thickened or heavy when drenched in water (Ki., VIII, 51). The strands of the zone, 'raśanā', are said to have snapped owing to excess of the emotion of love as the knot of the lower garment got loosened through the same cause and to have impeded a lady's gait as she tried to move away in false or real modesty (Ki., X, 54). The waist-zone, 'kāñcī', is said to swell the buttocks so that they appear bigger and more expansive owing to the rays of the jewels of the zone being cast on them (Ki., VIII, 23).

In Bhartṛhari's 'Śṛṅgāraśataka' is mentioned a jingling girdle made of jewels as well as a girdle-zone with orange-coloured jewels in it, ('raṇanmaṇimekhalā; aruṇaratnagranthikāñcīkalāpa'), (Sub., II, vv. 67 & 71). One of the ornaments used

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as apparatus for making jingling sound is a girdle, which, in the opinion of the commentator, is the result rather of the small bells fastened to the girdle than of the cords of the girdle itself (Sub., II, 8).

Bāṇa mentions girdles made of a number of jewelled strings being worn by courtezans which made captivating sweet sound only through the percussion with their hips ('maṇimekhalā'), (Ka., p. 29). Describing the actions of women eager to see Candrāpīḍa as he returned from his studies he refers to the gait of some of them impeded by the girdles falling down through excited movement (Ka., p. 162). Some of them drew the attention of their friends to the slipping off of their girdles, ('kāñcīdāma'), by asking them to raise up their belts (Ka., p. 165). Patralekhā wore a costly golden girdle, ('mahārhahemamekhalā') (Ka., p. 192).

Māgha refers to the hips and loins of a lady as the abode where the waist-girdle rests, ('kāñcidhāman'), (Si., X, 83). The girdle of gold, 'kāñcanakāñcī', or other precious material was removed during sex intercourse; and at the end of it a lady is described as being provided with a zone, 'mekhalā', in the form of the nail-marks her husband made as a preliminary to the sexual congress (Si., X, 85). The girdle of a lady could produce some kind of noise in her excited gait, evidently because the beaded or jewelled strands would, in such a gait, rub or dash against one another (Si., XIII, 34). It appears that the girdle, 'kakṣyā', could produce this sound even with some excited movements in bed (Si., X, 62). The excitement caused to the ladies of Indraprastha by the desire to see Kṛṣṇa as he arrived there led to their doing various funny things. Thus some of them put their waist-girdles, ('kāñcī'), round their necks where the necklaces should have been worn (Si., XIII, 32).

In Bhavabhūti's 'Mālatī-Mādhava' Madayantikā while narrating her love-experiences in her fancies and dreams says that in her attempt to move away from her lover she does not succeed because even when she has made up her mind, her quivering thighs get obstructed by the girdle-belt, ('mekhalāvalaya'), getting loose and thus slipping down into a position which makes the movement of thighs difficult (Mm., VII, ll. 149-150).

From the 'Amaruśataka' we learn that the girdle of a lady had perhaps a clasp holding it firm over the lower garment and that even when the girdle was unfastened or loosened the garment might be restrained by the strands or strings making up the girdle, ('vāso viślathamekhalāguṇadhṛtam kiṁcinnitambe sthitam'), (Am., v. 101). A lover asks the maids of his lady-love why their mistress is sleeping with

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the hems of her lower garment fastened tightly with her girdle, ('kāñcayā gāḍhatarāvanaddhavasanaprāntā'), (Am., v. 21). An unfaithful lover is reproached with having made love to another woman being drawn by the jingling sound of the jewels of her girdle, ('kāñcīmaṇiraṇitamākarṇya'), (Am., v. 109).

In the 'Karpūramañjari' of Rājaśekhara, the Vidūṣaka, continues the list of examples of impropriety or incongruity mentioned by the maid by instancing the fastening of a row of small bells of iron on to a girdle of gold, ('kaṇakakaḍisuttae via lohakiṅkiṇīmālā') (Km., I, 209). The king poetically describes the fact of the heroine having no creeper-like girdle, ('kañcīlaā'), on her hips as being due to their large expanse (Km., I, 34). The queen's maids dressed up the heroine and put on her hips a girdle which was bejewelled with rubies, ('pommarāamaṇikañcī'; Skt. 'padmarāgamaṇikāñcī'), (Km., II, 15). This girdle is described by the Vidūṣaka as very gorgeous, ('kovi kāñcīmaraṭṭo'; Skt. 'kopikāñcyāḍambaro'), (Km., II, 23). The girdle had jewelled small bells on it (Km., II, 34). A girdle with bells on it is called a 'mehalā', ('mekhalā'), (Km., II, 32). In the 'Viddhaśālabhañjikā' the heroine while at play with the ball is described as having a girdle which was making a jingling sound, ('jhaṇajjhaṇitimekhalā'), (Vs., II, 6). The girdle with small bells attached is spoken of as 'raśanā' (Vs., II, 7).

VIII

MALE DRESS

Bāṇabhaṭṭa has minutely described the dress of the 18-year old lad Dadhīca from which we gather that on the head he carried neither turban, 'topi', nor a scarf but only two wreaths of flowers. One of them was evidently fastened round the head and the other was big enough to dangle on to his hips even after encircling his head, (H., p. 34). His broad chest and strong but long arms are described in such a way as to render it clear that he wore no garment on the upper part of his body. His lower garment was short enough to expose a third part of his thighs. It thus extended to a little over the middle of the thighs but did not reach the knees. It was so wound that only one third of the thigh was exposed on both sides. It was green or blue in colour like that of the pigeon. It was so tightly fastened at the waist that it seemed to divide the whole body into two parts, the one above the slender waist and the other below it. It looked charming as one of its ends was set in front a little below the navel. The pleats were tucked in just below the navel and their ends were turned up and allowed to drop over the portion that was tucked in.

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At the back, the other end of the garment was formed into pleats and tucked in behind in such a manner that some portion of the pleats, the ends, were folded over and allowed to lie over the tucked-in pleats. He must have achieved this by tucking in the pleats about ten inches below their ends and then turning out the ends over the tucked pleats, or the formed 'kāsa' to use a Marathi word which keeps closer to the Sanskrit, 'kakṣā ('purastādīṣadadhonābhinihitaikakoṇakamanīyena pṛṣṭhatah kakṣyādhikakṣiptapallavena ubhayatah saṁvalanaprakaṭitorutribhāgena hāritaharitā nibiḍanipīḍitena adharavāsasā vibhajyamānatanutaramadhyabhāgam'), (H., p. 36).

The above picture is the only correct one arising out of the description properly interpreted. Śaṅkara's commentary, if it is properly punctuated and if some of the readings given in the foot-notes as alternative are accepted, bears it out. That the commentary as it is given in Fuhrer's edition is neither adequate nor quite correct can be easily perceived. For example, there is the expression, 'adhikaśruti', which is totally meaningless and must be corrupt. Thus considered the relevant portion of the commentary will run: 'pṛṣṭhatah paścādbhāge kakṣyāyāh parivalanādadhikah' ['atiriktah'] kṣipto lambamānah pallavah yasya tat'. That this is the proper reading, giving the meaning we have adopted above, is supported by the reading in the footnotes which runs: 'kakṣyāyāh parivalanādadhikotiriktah pallavah prānto yasya teneti samuditārthah'. This should substantiate the meaning as far as the arrangement of the garment at the back is concerned. Similar arrangement is taken to have been made on the front side because only thus can the full force of the expression, 'īṣadadhonābhinihitaikakoṇakamanīyena', be brought out. It is the end or the hem that is placed below the navel. If the mere tucking in of the pleats were intended to be conveyed a much simpler expression should have served the purpose. The hem placed below the navel is seen and adds charm to the dress. This is why A. B. Gajendragadkar's view (pp. 49-50 of his notes) that the garment was worn in the way which is spoken of, in Marathi, as 'kācā māraṇe', 'tucking in of the lower ends of the front pleats down tightly behind at the back' does not commend itself. Kane thinks that the description of the dress fits a garment like the "modern 'māṇḍacoḷaṇā', i.e. very short 'drawers', tied at the waist with strings" (H. (b), p. 52, notes). It is clear that the description cannot at all fit a garment which is simply tied at the waist with its strings. There is no hem or end for such a garment to be placed below the navel nor is there any hem or end to dangle at the back. Kane's attempt to take 'pallava' to mean 'tassel' really does not improve the position. One fails to see how and why the tassel of the drawers-strings was taken at the back to dangle there. Altogether the explanation is quite wide of the

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mark. . The interpretation we have put forward must be taken to be the most satisfactory one. The mode of wearing the lower garment or 'dhoti' thus described must be looked upon as the mode most affected by young men.

Mekhalaka, the letter-carrier to Bāṇa from Kṛṣṇa, a cousin of king Harṣa, is described as being clad in a gaudy garment which was girt with a slip of soiled cloth, ('kārdamikacelacīrikāniyamitoccaṇḍacaṇḍātakam'), (H., p. 85). The way the garment was held indicates that 'caṇḍātaka' here at least cannot signify a pair of drawers. It can be taken to stand for a tunic, extending from the neck to the middle of the thighs. The strip of soiled cloth might be taken to have been used to adjust the tunic at the waist. But this meaning certainly does not fit the other context where the piece of apparel signified by the word 'caṇḍātaka' is worn by Mālatī. Mekhalaka wore another piece of ragged old cloth on the upper part of his body which he placed round his neck in such a manner that it fell dangling on his back, ('pṛṣṭhapreṅkhatpaṭaccarakarpaṭaghaṭitagaladgranthim'), (H., p 85). He was evidently bare-headed and carried the letters on his head.

Pāriyātra, the chief of king Harṣa's door-keepers, was dressed in a clean robe which covered his whole body, and had a golden belt studded with flashing rubies very tightly compressing his waist. He had a white turban on his head, ('vīdhrakakañcukacchannavapuṣā sumanmiṣan māṇikyapadabandhabandhuravasta [or śasta] bandhaluptāvalagnena...maulināpāṇḍuramuṣṇīṣamudvahatā'), (H., p. 98).

King Harṣa, as he was sitting at ease interviewing Bāṇa, is described as having only two garments on. His lower garment hanging from his loins was purest white and was bedecked with the rays cast by the jewels of his belt. It looked charming owing to the string of the finest silk with which it was fastened. On the upper part of his body he put on another garment which was not thick and was spotted with star-like ornamentations on it, ('amṛtaphenapaṭalapāṇḍunā mekhalāmaṇimayūkhakhacitena nitambabimbavyāsaṅginā vimalapayodhautena netrasūtraniveśaśobhinā adharavāsasā vāsukinirmokeṇeva mandaram dyotamānam aghanena satārāgaṇenoparikṛtena dvitīyāmbareṇa bhuvanābhogamiva'), (H., p. 115). Sudṛṣṭi, the bard, the reciter of the Purāṇas, wore two white silk garments, which were simply pieces cut from a long piece of cloth, manufactured in the Puṇḍra country, (modern Bihar and Bengal), ('dukūlapaṭṭaprabhave śikhaṇḍyapāṅgapāṇḍunī pauṇḍre vāsasī vasānaḥ'), (H., p. 130-1).

Maskari, the disciple of the ascetic Bhairavācārya, had for his garland the ascetic's scarf resting on one shoulder and had worn his red upper garment by

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fastening a knot with its ends on his chest, ('aṁsāvalambinā kāṣāyeṇa yogapaṭṭakena viracitavaikakṣakaṁ hṛdayamadhyanibaddhagranthinā ca rāgeṇev khaṇḍaśaḥ kṛtena dhāturasāruṇena karpaṭena kṛtottarāsaṅgam'), (H., p. 153).

Śrīkaṇṭha Nāga, the presiding spirit of Sthāṇvīśvara, is described as wearing an extremely white garment called 'caṇḍātaka'. Over it he had fastened his waist very tightly with a broad white piece of cloth, the remaining part of which he had just allowed to hang down behind him in such a manner that it touched the ground and seemed to support him, ('ketakīgarbhapāṇḍurasya caṇḍātakasyopari kṣāmatarīkṛtakukṣiḥ [-kukṣim] kakṣābandham vidhāya vilāsavikṣiptena dhavalavyāyāma [vyāyata] phālīpaṭāntena dharaṇītalagatena dhāryamāṇa iva pṛṣṭhatah śeṣeṇa'), (H., pp. 165–66). It is quite clear that the word 'caṇḍātaka' must signify a long tunic. King Puṣpabhūti, who was there in readiness for him, had worn the 'ardhoruka' garment. Seeing Śrīkaṇṭha and wishing to grapple with him he girded up his loins over his garment, ('ardhorukasyopari babandha bāhuyuddhāya kakṣyām') (H., p. 167). The author has described the disorderly smearing of sandal-paste on the body of Śrikaṇṭha and the sweat of fury and horripilation on the king's body. He must be taken to convey the fineness of the garment through which even sweat and horripilation could be visible. And the terms 'caṇḍātaka' and 'ardhoruka' here must be taken to signify a tunic, long enough to reach the middle of the thighs. It is necessary to ascribe the meaning of 'tunic' to the word 'ardhoruka' at one place in the 'Daśakumāracarita' (p. 96), where Daṇḍin describes the dress of a robber. He says he was clad in a cloak, 'ardhoruka', made of blue cloth. One of the commentaries has rendered it by a 'covering garment'.

Harṣa, when he left his palace to start on his expedition, wore two silken garments, both bearing the figures of pairs of flamingo stamped or drawn on them. On his head he had a garland of white flowers encircling it as befitted an emperor, ('paridhāya rājahaṁsamithunalakṣaṇī sadṛśe dukūle parameśvaracinhabhūtām śaśikalāmiva kalpayitvā sitakusumamuṇḍamālikām śirasi'), (H., p. 274). Later when he actually started on his expedition he put on a tunic of fine white silk, clinging to his body owing to its soft fine texture, ('kadalīgarbhābhyadhikamradimnā navanetranirmitena dvitīya iva bhoginādhipatiraṅgalagnena kañcukenāmṛtamathanadivasa iva kṣīrodaphenapaṭaladhavalāmbaravāhī'), (H., p. 280).

In the description of the kings, who accompanied Harṣa on his expedition, occurs some qualifying terms referring to their dress which must be taken to imply

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alternatives. Some of them had elegantly covered their legs with fine silken cloths on which pictures figured prominently; others had worn mud-stained cloths which variegated their reddish-brown legs; still others, had their white accoutrements heightened by their blue shiny drawers or shorts, ('uccitranetrasukumārasvasthānasthagitajaṅghākāṇḍaiśca kārdamikapaṭakalmāṣitapiśaṅgapiṅgairalinīlamasṛṇasatulāsamutpāditasitaśamāyogaparabhāgaiśca'). Some of the kings covered the upper parts of their bodies with jackets which appeared dark blue owing to the rays of the dark jewels which they had on their bodies underneath the fine jackets; some had put on China-made cloaks; some had their coats, made of a particular species of cloth, with bright pearls interwoven into them; others wore jackets which were merely variegated with varied decorations; others still had covered their bodies only with cloths which were greenish in colour like the feathers of a parrot, ('avadātadehavarṇavirājamānarājāvartamecakaih kañcukaiścāpacitacīnacolakaiśca tāramuktāstabakitastavarakavārabāṇaiśca nānākaṣāyakarburakūrpāsakaiśca śukapicchacchāyācchādanakaiśca'). All of them wore fine waist-bands twisted round their thin flanks, ('vyāyāmolluptapārśvapradeśapraviṣṭacārusastaiśca'). Some of them had put on the folded turbans, others had covered their heads with their red upper garments, while others had put on linen conical caps inlaid with jewels, ('uṣṇīṣapaṭṭaviṣṭabdhakarṇotpalanālaiśca kuṁkumarāgakomalottarīyāntaritottamāṅgaiśca cūḍāmaṇikhaṇḍa khacitakṣaumakholaiśca') (H., pp. 279-80). Later on when the group of princes is represented as having paid their homage to Harṣa they are described as having on their heads golden crowns with jewels set in them, ('avanamati...calanaśithilamaṇikanakamukuṭakiraṇanikaraparikararuciraśirasi...rājacakre') (H., p. 281).

King Tārāpīḍa, sitting in the midst of feudatory kings and princes, in court so to say, is described as wearing two fine silk-garments, both of which were very white and had on their edges pairs of flamingo drawn in the bright yellow pigment called 'goṛccanā'. Their ends were dancing about owing to the breeze from the chowries, ('amṛtaphenadhavalegorocanālikhitahaṁsamithunasanāthaparyante cārucāmaravāyupravartitāntadeśe dukūle vasānam') (Ka., p. 17). Though he must have had his upper garment as he is described as wearing two silk-cloths, yet his chest would appear to be quite bare because the smearing of the sandal-paste and the overlaid palm-impressions in saffron were clearly visible, ('atisurabhicandanānulepanadhavalitorahsthalam uparivinyastakuṁkumasthāsakam'), (Ka., p. 18). Evidently he must have put on his upper garment in such a way as not to cover his chest completely.

Keyūraka, the sixteen-year-old Gandharva lad, when he visited Mahāśvetā was clad in only one cloth, the lower garment. It was fastened tightly and held in

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position by a girdle of gold chains. Its ends and puckers, which were remaining over after the tuckings had been done, were dangling about. Through this garment the stale sandal-paste smeared on the thighs was visible, ('paryuṣitacandanāṅgarāgadhūsarorudaṇḍadvayena...cāmīkarasṛṅkhalākalāpanibiḍaniyamitaṁ kakṣābandhātiriktapreṅkhatpallavamadharavāsa eva kevalamvasānena'), (Ka., p. 327), ('kakṣābandhātkaṭibandhādatiriktasya vastrasya preṅkhanta ullasantah pallavā añcalā yasya tat', Comm.). He had not covered himself with an upper garment but the rays of the jewelled ornament which he had put on one ear shed such lustre on the shoulder that it seemed to form a particoloured upper garment worn only on that shoulder, ('karṇābharaṇamaṇerviprakīryamāṇamadhomukhakiraṇendrāyudhajālavarṇāṁśukottarīyamivaikaskandhakṣiptamudvahatā'), (Ka., p. 327).

On the second occasion of his visit to the hermitage of Mahāśvetā, Candrāpīḍa is described as having put off his military accoutrements and put on two garments of the purest white colour and of the finest texture, ('sainyasamāyogamapanīya sarpanirmokaparilaghunī ghanojjhitajyotsnābhirāme paridhāya vāsasī'), (Ka., p. 523). The commentator's remark on the wearing of two garments implies that it was not very proper for one who was visiting a hermitage but is to be defended on the score of regional or provincial custom, ('atra vastradvayagrahaṇaṁ deśācāraviśeṣādeva mantavyam', Comm.).

Rājaśekhara in his 'Kāvyamīmāṁsa informs us that the males of India in the four great regions in which it could be divided in respect of the styles of dress etc. dressed after the fashion adopted by his imaginary Kāvyapuruṣa. It appears from this that he was aware of some differences in the dress of males in the various parts of India though he does not specify them. He states that the males of the intermediate region of Surāṣtra, South Rajputana, Malwa, and parts of Central India dressed after the manner of the males of the Northern and North-Western region, (Kam., pp. 7-10).

Kalhaṇa describing the gathering assembled to witness the musical performance of a Domba singer at the court of Chakravarman, who was the king of Kashmir about 936 A. D., speaks of it as being resplendent with white head-dresses of the males, ('vibabhau dhavaloṣṇīṣā sabhā dīptaprabhojjvalā') (Raj., V, 356). Evidently the male practice of wearing a head-dress was confined to the royalty on all ordinary occasions and was in evidence among the commoners only on special occasions like the one mentioned above; for the once common practice had ceased to be common for the generality of the people and was restricted to the royalty during

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the following hundred and fifty years or so. Kalhaṇa eulogizing the doings of king Harṣa, who flourished about the end of the 11th century A.D., narrates the changes he effected in the fashions of dress. One of the changes introduced was in respect of hair-dressing and head-dress. Before his time people with the exception of the king, wore their hair loose and had neither ear-ornaments nor any head-dress. Evidently Harṣa introduced the use of head-dress for all, which is approved by Kalhaṇa as a dress fit for kings, ('muktakeśā nirusṇīśā niṣkalābharaṇāh purā, saṁtyajyaikam mahīpālamabhavanniha dehinah...tena rājyocito veṣastatra rājñā pravartitah') (Raj., VII, 922 & 924). There was strict surveillance over the dress of people, at least over that of the great courtiers and leading citizens. A former commander-in-chief, Madana by name, had incurred the king's displeasure for having worn his hair in braids and not loose as was then the custom, ('dhammillagrathanādyatra madanah kampanāpatih') (Raj., VII, 923).

Kalhaṇa further informs us that a former prime minister of Kashmir, Jayānanda, had incurred the displeasure of his king by wearing a piece of apparel, called 'ardhoruka', which was variegated, ('..., jayānandopyamātyāgryaścitrārdhoru-kadhāraṇāt, anvabhūtpārthivakrodhamaviśeṣeṇa maṇḍale') (Raj., VII, 923–924). Stein translates the expression 'citrārdhoruka' by 'a short coat of bright colour'. R. S. Pandit too translates the expression more or less in the same way, making 'ardhoruka' mean 'a short coat', (Raj., (b), ibid.). As we have seen above 'ardhoruka' by itself as a piece of male apparel signified a long tunic reaching the middle of the thighs, though as an item of the female wardrobe it denoted a lower garment, a kind of a pair of shorts. The former king did not approve of his chief minister wearing a variegated tunic. Harṣa, who introduced changes in fashion, must be understood to have shown not only tolerance towards the use of a variegated tunic but in the name of beauty even appreciated it. Perhaps the reforms, or rather the changes, that were sought to be introduced by king Harṣa towards the end of the 11th century were the consequences of the powerful will of a masterful personality which revelled in adornment and colour and may not be viewed with further significance. Stein, however, sees in the modifications described by Kalhaṇa some reflection of the Muhammadan West. He observes: "Can the change of fashion here referred to have had something to do with the spread of customs from the Muhammadan West?" The piece of apparel here referred to is not the coat that Stein took it to be. Immediately after the description of the king's partiality for colour and adornment in male dress we are told by Kalhaṇa that in female dress the Deccan style was his favourite (Raj., VII, 925).

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IX

HEAD-DRESS (MALE)

'Uṣṇīṣa, kirīṭa, paṭṭa, veṣṭana, veṣṭanapaṭṭa, śiroveṣṭana'

Yaugandharāyaṇa, on the eve of the skirmish that was to ensue between the followers of Udayana and the soldiers of the king of Ujjain, is described as wearing a white turban, ('pāṇḍurābaddhapaṭṭaḥ') (Bh., p. 99 : Pr., IV, 3). To bow down to any one with one's head with the diadem on was a particularly humble way of rendering homage (Bh., pp. 208, 374 ; C., I, 25[12] ; P., I, 5). Evidently Śakāra of the play 'Cārudatta' used to wear a diadem, 'paṭṭa'. The Brahmins officiating at the sacrificial session of Duryodhana are described as having their feet rubbed by the head-cloths of kings, ('rājñāṁ veṣṭanapaṭṭaghṛṣṭacaraṇāḥ').

Only the king's head-dress is referred to, while the queen's hair uncovered by a head-dress are spoken of, the former being called simply 'a winding' ('veṣṭana'). which is rendered by Mallinātha by the technical name for the head-dress viz, 'uṣṇīṣa', (R., I, 42 ; VIII, 12). When Raghu decided to leave his home for the forest his son Aja is represented as having begged him not to leave him. To add weight to his request by showing his humility, perhaps, he touched his father's feet with his head with its head-dress on. The head is described as having looked charming owing to its head-dress (R., VIII, 12). In the description of the preparations for the coronation of Atithi we are told about the dressing of the head in some detail. The hair was tied up in some kind of a knot, so as to stand perpendicularly, with a pearl-string intermixed with flower-garland. Thereupon was fixed a resplendent jewel (R., XVII, 23). Mallinātha renders 'mauli' by 'dhammilla'. A king's head was adorned with a gold diadem, ('paṭṭa') (R., XVIII, 44).

Śakāra says that he has tried to appeal to Vasantasenā even with falling at her feet with his head with the turban on, ('śīrṣeṇa saveṣṭanena'), (Mr., VIII, 31).

Bāṇabhaṭṭa fancies the river Mandākinī to be a fold in the silken turban of the mount Sumeru, ('aṁśukoṣṇīṣapaṭṭikāmiva sumeroh'), (H., p. 30). Clearly a folded turban, whose folds could be easily distinguished is meant and not a crown. The commentator rightly renders 'uṣṇīṣa' by 'śiroveṣṭana'. The young soldiers accompanying Dadhīca had apparently no head-dress apart from their upper garments which they had folded on their heads, ('uttarīyakṛtaśiroveṣṭana'), (H., p. 33). The old escort of Dadhīca had encircled his head with a white silk band, ('dhautadukūlapaṭṭikāpariveṣṭitamauli'), (H., p. 39).

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The princes and kings gathered round the king Tārāpīḍa were wearing 'kirīṭa' for their head-dress (Ka., p. 29). The followers of Candrāpīḍa too wore jewelled 'mukuṭa' on their heads (Ka., p. 215). The divine person that arose out of the moon at the death of Puṇḍarīka had made up the knot of his head-dress with a piece of white fine silk, ('dhavaladukūlapallavakalpitoṣṇīṣagranthih'), (Ka., p. 312), ('uṣṇīṣagranthirmūrdhaveṣṭanagranthih', Comm.). The Draviḍa devotee waiting upon the goddess Caṇḍikā used to keep his head always covered with a conical cap made of black blanket, ('kṣaṇamapyamuktakālakambalakhaṇḍakholena'), (Ka., p. 401).

Harṣa in his 'Ratnāvalī' describes the doings of Śiva and his troupe at the sacrifice performed by Dakṣa. The troupe is represented as removing the clothes wound over the heads of the officiating priests of Dakṣa. ('capalagaṇahṛtoṣṇīṣapaṭṭāh') (Ra., I, v. 3).

X

UPPER GARMENT (MALE)

'Uttarīya'

In Bhāsa's 'Dūtavākya' 'Duryodhana' is described as wearing a white silk cloth as his upper garment (Bh., p. 442 ; D., I, 3).

Golden upper garments ('uttarīya') of males are spoken of by Kālidāsa (K., XIII, 21).

Bāṇabhaṭṭa describes the young soldiers accompanying Dadhīca as having used their upper garments to fold them over their heads to form their head-dress (H., p. 33). The messenger Kuraṅgaka as he was hastening forward had his upper garment waving or fluttering about his flanks owing to the strong breeze blowing in his face and thus appeared as if equipped with wings, ('abhimukhapavanapreṅkhat-pravitatottarīyapaṭaprāntavījyamānobhayapārśvamatitvarayā kṛtapakṣamivāśu patantam'), (H., p. 212). Harṣa after his return when he came to know the serious condition of his father simply let himself down on his bed in despondency and covered himself wholly with his upper garment, ('śayanīye nipatyottarīyavāsasā sottamāṅgamātmānamavaguṇṭhyātiṣṭhat') (H., p. 224).

Candrāpīḍa, wishing to enter his camp unnoticed by his followers in order to surprise his friend Vaiśampāyana, covered his head with his upper garment though he was still riding his horse, ('mūrdhānamāvṛtyottrīyeṇa') (Ka., p. 473). The princes,

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in their excitement when they came to know of the arrival of Candrāpīḍa, had their upper garments unwittingly slipped off from their bodies owing to their hurried gait, ('samantātsasaṁbhramapradhāvitānāmacetitottarīyaskhalanānām'), (Ka., p. 474). As Kapiñjala was coming down one end of his upper garment was flapping about owing to his proceeding through the windy path. He had girded up his loins with the bark of a tree, ('anilapathasaṁcaraṇacalitaikāñcalottarīyam tarutvacā dṛḍhabaddhaparikaram'), (Ka., p. 583). At the death of his friend Puṇḍarīka, Kapiñjala in his fury girded up his loins with the bark upper garment in readiness to fight, ('saṁjātakopo badhnan sāvegamuttarīyavalkalena parikaram'), (Ka., p. 313).

In the 'Ratnāvalī' of Harṣa, the Vidūṣaka uses his upper garment, 'uttarīya to cover the picture-board under his arm-pit, (Ra., p. 101, Act II).

Māgha while narrating the doings of the followers of Kṛṣṇa in their sojourn on the Raivataka mountain describes how some lovers walked with their wives, warding off the rays of the sun from them by holding their own upper garments spread out over the heads of their wives, ('svaṁ rāgāduparivitanvatottarīyaṁ kāntena pratipadavāritātapāyāh'), (Śi., VIII, 5). Describing Balarāma he refers to his blue or dark upper garment, 'uttarāsaṅga' (Śi., II, 19).

In the 'Karpūramañjari' of Rājaśekhara the upper garment, 'uttarīya' is twice mentioned as a piece of male apparel. When the queen asks a seat to be fetched for the heroine, just brought in magically in the presence of the king and herself, the Vidūṣaka rolls up his upper garment and offers it as a seat for her to sit on. The heroine accordingly sits on the rolled-up upper garment (Km., I, 34 (5)). At the wedding of the king and the heroine, the Vidūṣaka acting as the officiating priest says that he will tie the knot of the upper garment of the king with that of the heroine, tying a knot in the garments of the couple being considered an essential part of the marriage ritual (K., IV, 20(12). The Vidūṣaka uses the hem or the end of his garment to fan the heroine when he finds her perspiring and he puts out the light by flapping his upper garment, ('sicayāñcala', 'varillapavana'), (Km., III, 22^{2-4}). 'Varilla' in this passage is rendered either simply as garment, 'vastra' or as the hem of a garment, ('vastrāñcala'). In another place when the same word occurs in connection with the dress of the heroine it is rendered as an upper garment, ('uparivastra'), (Km. (b), II, 36).

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XI

MANTLE

'Prāvāra'

In the 'Cārudatta' of Bhāsa, the Vidūṣaka feeling cold desires to bring his mantle, 'prāvāraka', to clothe himself with (Bh., p. 40; Sv., V, 6[16]). Cārudatta mistaking Vasantasenā, who had entered his compound in the dark by the side-door, for his maid gives her his mantle, 'prāvāraka', as the evening was getting windy. He presents it later on to some one who courageously blunted the rage of a mad elephant on the street. Thereafter Vasantasenā identifying him as the owner of that mantle with the help of the person who had received it from him as a present, describes Cārudatta as having only his sacred thread for his mantle, (Bh., pp. 209, 222, 223: C., I, 26[34]). It is clear from this that the mantle did not bear the name of the owner; otherwise Vasantasenā could have detected the owner by herself from the name. That ('prāvāra') mantle was the only upper garment worn by males may be inferred from the fact that Cārudatta after he presents away his mantle has the upper part of his body quite bare, exposing the sacred thread.

In the Mṛcchakaṭika of Śūdraka the Vidūṣaka brings the mantle, 'prāvāra', 'prāvāraka', sent by a friend of Cārudatta's as a present for Cārudatta. It was scented with jasmine flowers. Evidently the same mantle was thrown by Cārudatta on Vasantasenā, whom he had mistaken for his maid, with instruction that with it his son should be clothed. Vasantasenā put it on herself. She looked particularly charming in it. So much so that Cārudatta had slipped off into a description of her before he realized that he was breaking one of the rules of good society. The same mantle, 'prāvāraka', was later presented by Cārudatta to a person, who had courageously held up a mad elephant, for his valorous deed. The man happened to be a servant of Vasantasenā. He took the mantle with him and narrated the story of its acquisition to his mistress. She was eager to identify the owner of the mantle, if possible. The way she asks him to look for the name implies that mantles generally bore the names of their owners. She herself read the name of Cārudatta on it and clothed herself with the mantle, giving an ornament of hers to her servant in return for it, (Mr., I, 8 (95, 111-12); 1, 52 (12-13 18); 1, 54; II, 20 (10-25)). Vasantasenā's brother moving about in her house is described as wearing a silken mantle, 'paṭṭaprāvāraka'. Her mother on the other hand was wrapped in a mantle whereon flowers were embroidered, 'puṣpaprāvāraka'; (Mr., IV, 28(53); 29(6)). Whether these mantles bore the names of their

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owners we cannot say. But the mantle of Śakāra bore his name and that person desisted from covering up Vasantasenā, whom he thought he had killed, with it for fear of being detected as her murderer (Mr., VIII, 45(4)).

After Cārudatta had presented away his mantle, 'prāvāra', there is one reference to the upper garment he wore where it is called, 'uttarīya', which also he gifts away to someone (Mr., V, 11(89)). Śaṁvāhaka, the shampooer and the gambler, possessed only a tattered upper garment, which, as it could not be used for covering the body, he carried rolled up under his arm-pit. It is called 'uttarīya' (Mr. II, 9(233)). It would thus appear that 'prāvāra' or mantle was a special and costly variety of the upper garment, which ordinarily was called 'uttarīya'. It must be pointed out that the commentator Pṛthvīdhara explains the term 'prāvāra' once by 'uttarīya', 'upper garment', (Mr., I, 8(95)), and once by 'pracchada', 'covering' (Mr., IV, 28(53)).

The 'prāvāra' or the upper garment, rendered as 'uttarīya' by Mallinātha, is described as having slipped off the shoulder of a king and clung to his armlet. It is then placed in its proper position by throwing it up there, ('utkṣepaṇam'), the act suggesting embrace (R. VI, 10).

XII

LONG COAT, JACKET (MALE)

'Kañcuka', 'colaka'

The soldiers accompanying Dadhīca are described by Bāṇabhaṭṭa as being dressed in armour, 'kañcuka', (H., p. 33). Dadhīca's old escort, Vikukṣi, had worn a white armour, 'vārabāṇa', (H., p. 39). Some of the servants in the camp of Harṣa put on jackets, 'colaka', over which they wore tattered garments presented to them by their masters, ('prabhuprasādīkṛtapāṭitapaṭaccaracalaccolakadhāribhih'), (H., p. 287).

In the 'Ratnāvalī' of Harṣa a dwarf is said to have entered the garment or the coat of the chamberlain, being afraid of the monkey that had got loose, ('antahkañcukikañcukasya viśati trāsādayaṁ vāmanah') (Ra., I, v. 3). If the dwarf could enter the garment it is evident that it must be a long garment reaching almost to the feet of the wearer. It also follows that it was a loose garment not buttoned up in the lower part. 'Kañcuka' of the chamberlain, thus, must signify a loose long coat, which must have fitted the upper part of the body rather closely but must not have been buttoned up in the lower part.

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XIII

LOWER GARMENT (MALE)

'Antarīyavāsas', 'kaupīna'. 'kaupīnavāsas', 'jātīpaṭṭikā', 'nivasana', 'niṣpravāṇi', 'paṭa', 'vasana'

Hāla refers to the prestige of an old wrestler whose preparation for wrestling by fastening his waist could by itself strike terror, ('kacchābandha', Skt: 'kakṣābandha'), (Ga., VII, 84).

In the play 'Cārudatta', the Vidūṣaka is represented as having brought for his friend Carūdatta some flowers and a lower garment for the performance of some religious rite (Bh., p. 196; C., I., 1[42]). The expression in the text which is rendered here as a 'lower garment' is 'antarīyavāsas'. It is translated by Woolner and Sarup as 'a garment of air'. The meaning given above is the correct one. Devadhar rightly renders it by 'paridhānavastra' (Bh., p. 580).

Daṇḍin describes the magician Vidyeśvara as wearing a thin variegated raiment, ('sūkṣmacitranivasanah') (Ds., p. 52). Another person appears wearing silken garment, 'paṭṭanivasanah' (Ds. p. 72). A person describes himself as being denuded of all but his loin-cloth by a prostitute, 'malamallakaśeṣah' (Ds., p. 92). A man reduced to poverty is spoken of as one with only his loin-cloth left to him, 'kaupīnāvaśeṣah' (Ds., p. 136).

A woman in her feigned pleading states that she dressed her son, who had recovered from madness, with two new and uncut garments, 'niṣpravāṇiyugalam' (Ds., p. 132). The two garments worn by a man might be fine and white ones (Ds., p. 202).

Among the many presents sent by the king of Prāgjyotiṣa, part of Assam, to Harṣa were high-class loin-cloths, which were very soft and delightful to touch, ('bhūrjatvakkomalāh sparśavatīrjātīpaṭṭikāh') (H, p. 291).

Māgha describes how in the assembly of the kings where Śiśupāla raised the question of precedence in excited anger, wishing to strike the opponents put forward his leg and hand and moved forward in wrathful gait. In doing this his lower garment slipped off partially. The end of the garment, evidently, having got in the way, the king in his hurried steps tumbled over, ('vivṛtorubāhuparigheṇa sarabhasapadaṁ nidhitsatā, hantumakhilanṛpatīnvasunā vasane vilambini nije vicaskhale') (Si., XV., 57).

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Bilhaṇa in the 'Vikramāṅkadevacarita' informs us that the Gujarātis in Anhilvad of his time, i.e. fourth quarter of the 11th century A.D., did not tie up their lower garment in tne manner of tying it up without the ends fluttering, ('kakṣābandham vidadhati na ye sarvadaivāviśuddhāh') (Vi., XVIII, 97). Bühler simply observes:"...my Gujarati friends plead guilty also to the second charge about the tying of the Kakshabandha".

Kalhaṇa attributes the particular mode of wearing the lower garment prevalent among the Dākṣiṇātyas, by which are meant the people of the Deccan region with its centre at Bidar, to the exploits of Lalitāditya, king of Kashmir. It is remarked that Lalitāditya, after his great conquests in the 2nd half of the 8th century A.D., forced the people of the Deccan to wear their lower garment in such a manner that the ends dangled at the back and the feet, which, as the poet describes, was 'the tail which sweeps the ground, to mark that they were like beasts', ('kṣitibhṛddākṣiṇātyānāṁ tiryaktvajnāpanāya sah, puccham mahītalasparśi cakre kaupīnavāsasi') (Raj., IV, 180). It is not clear what people are precisely meant in this passage, nor the particular feature of their dress which approximated it to the tail of animals. As the particular method of wearing the lower garment made it appear like a tail it must be that feature of it which was worn at the back. The description thus must refer to the gathers and pleats of the male lower garment which are tucked in behind. It cannot be made to apply to the frontal gathers. Stein seems to have found no difficulty as he remarks: "The dhotis or waistcloths worn by Dakhanis (and Bengalis), the ends of which are allowed to hang down behind to the ground, still excite the amusement and wonder of the Kashmiris", (Vol., I, p. 138, f. n.). The fact of the matter is neither the Dakhanis nor the Bengalis, at least the upper castes among both peoples, allow the ends of the gathers at the back to flutter loosely. As a matter of fact they follow the Shastraic injunction to tuck up the ends quite scrupulously. Among the Gujaratis, on the other hand, it is much more common in ordinary life to allow the ends to flutter loosely, one of the charges, as we have seen, levelled against them by Bilhaṇa, the predecessor of Kalhaṇa. On the other hand, the description of southerners cannot apply to the people of Gujarat. Nor can we take the term 'kaupīnavāsas' literally and understand the loin-cloth proper and not the 'dhoti'; for the loin-cloth proper could not have been the dress of the people in general at the time, nor has it a fluttering end behind. I think the difference must be considered to refer to the one between pleating and tight tucking of the hind gathers, as for example, depicted in the sculptures of Bharhut, and the loose tucking now in common practice. Such an arrangement with a broad 'dhoti'

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makes that end of it which is drawn up at the back reach almost the ankle. The pleats at the back accordingly hang from the middle of the waist to a distance of only a few inches from the ground and may be fancifully likened to the tail of a beast.

Hemacandra tells us that the king of the Lāṭa country, south Gujarat, had put on a garment coloured with madder, ('māñjiṣṭapaṭīkaḥ'), (Dv., Vol. I, p. 470). The commentator, Abhayatilakagaṇi, who is believed to have flourished about the middle of the 13th century A.D., remarks that owing to certain natural advantages the colouring of garments with madder is superfine in the Lāṭa-country. Hemacandra finds the dress of the males of Surāṣṭra rather peculiar and manifestly different from that of those of Gurjararāṣṭra, of which Anahilapāṭaka was the capital where ruled his patron king Kumārapāla. The Surāṣṭra dress appears to him to resemble the dress of females of his country. The peculiarity of the male dress of Surāṣṭra according to him was the consequence of the defeat of its king Graha by Mūlarāja, the first great king of the dynasty that ruled at Anahilapāṭaka, ('tataḥ prabhṛti saurāṣṭraiḥ strīveṣo jātajanmabhiḥ, ajanmajātaiścopāttaḥ prāha rājibhuvo yaśaḥ') (Dv., Vol. I, p. 432). The commentator explains that the dress consisted of a piece of cloth broad enough to reach and cover the ankles and worn without any pleats, [in front and behind?], ('āprapadīnaśāṭikāparidhānakacchādānābhāvalakṣaṇo nārīveṣaḥ'). It was taken up by, or was rather imposed upon, the males of Surāṣṭra in order to proclaim their being like women before Mūlarāja, the victorious king. In the description of the visit to the temple of Neminātha on the Raivataka mount paid by Jayasiṁha, an ancestor of the poet's patron, we are told that the king was wearing a clean washed garment. He was led by an attendant who was similarly clad. But the men of Surāṣṭra who showed them their way up the mount were clad in woollen garments. Reaching the top of the mountain he entered the temple after giving away silken garments to the people of Surāṣṭra who had accompanied him there and who, as pointed above, were wearing only woollen garments, (Dv., Vol. II, p. 232). The expression 'aumakaṁ vāsaḥ' is explained by the commentator as 'dhautavastrikām', 'a washed small garment', who also remarks that the Surāṣṭras wear a lower garment of wool. Those who prepared the offering inside the temple for the king to offer to the deity are described as wearing washed cotton garments, ('dhautakārpāsavāsasaḥ'), (Dv., Vol. II, p. 234). King Kumārapāla, when on his nightly tour of inspection incognito in his city, put on a cheap garment and covered himself over all with a cheap blue cloth, (Dv., Vol. II, p. 591).

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XIV

KNOT OF THE LOWER GARMENT, TUCKED-UP GATHERS

'Uccaya', 'nīvi'

That 'nīvī' or 'nīvi' was the knot of the lower garment worn by women which held it in place is clear from the following among other statements about it. First, the tying of the 'nīvī' is spoken of (K., VII, 60; VIII, 4). Second, 'nīvī' and the waist-girdle ('mekhalā') are referred to as being close together (K., I, 38). Third, the attire worn by married ladies is described as having the 'nīvī', that of the unmarried girl being, by implication in Kālidāsa's works (K. (b), VII, 7) and by explicit statement in Rājaśekhara's 'Viddhaśālabhaṇjikā', which is also quoted by the commentator, Aruṇagirinātha, (K. (b), VII, 7), one without any 'nīvī' ('kanyeti sūcayati veṣaviśeṣa eva yannīlacolakavatī likhitātra citre, pāṇigrahātprabhṛti tu pramadājanasya nīvīniveśasubhagah paridhānamārgah'). That the 'nīvī' was centrally placed or formed is clear from a number of references to it. Thus when a lady's 'nīvī' is displaced, broken or loosened owing to excitement of hurried gait she is described as holding her falling garment with her hand in such a fashion that the brilliant jewels of her wristlets cast their rays on her navel, (K., VII, 60; R. VII, 9). While describing the first youth of a lady the fresh tiny hair at the navel are described as if they are the dark rays cast by the central jewel of the waist-girdle which have crossed the 'nīvī' (K., I, 38). In the description of the activities of a husband before the sexual act, it is stated that he puts his hand at the region of the navel to undo the garment-tucking (K., VIII, 4). That the 'nīvī' was not a fast knot is evident from the fact that it could get loose or broken, allowing the garment to slip off during hurried movement (K., VII, 60) and even on simple excitement of sexual love (K., VIII, 4).

Whereas generally in the description of the dalliance of a husband with his wife before sexual intercourse occurs the unloosening of the 'nīvī', in one place the operation is mentioned as 'raśanāvighaṭṭana' which is rendered by Mallinātha as 'loosening of the knot' (R., XIX, 27), ('granthivisraṁsana'). Agnivarṇa is described as being ardently fond of fastening and unfastening the knots of the lower garments of his wives fastened at one side of their hips (R., XIX, 41). Mallinātha has: 'ekato nitambaikadeśe āgrathanamokṣayornīvībandhavisraṁsanayorlolupamāsaktam'. The undoing of the 'nīvībandha' is necessary in order to loosen the lower garment of a lady so that it can be taken off (Me., V. 69). The expression, 'nīvībandha', is rendered

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ed by the commentator Sthiradeva, who lived in the beginning of the 10th century A.D.; as 'a particular mode of wearing the garment to be wrapped round' (lower garment), ('paridhānavasananyāsaviśeṣah'). Ladies getting up from their beds are described as having their hair dangling on the 'nīvī', having been thrown forward over the head and the face in the act of putting on the bodices or jackets (Rt., IV, 16).

Describing the pranks of Gandharva ladies Bhāravi informs us that one of them fixing her intent gaze on her lover did not fasten her lower garment whose knot keeping it in position had got unfastened owing to excess of feeling ('priyeparā yacchati vācamunmukhī nibaddhadṛṣṭih śithilākuloccayā, samādadhe nāṁśukamāhitaṁ vṛthā') (Ki., VIII, 15). Another lady owing to her bending in the act of collecting flowers had her garment-knot, 'nīvi', loosened in the activity (Ki., VIII, 17) Another lady playing water-sports with her lover took up water in her palms to throw it on her lover who seeing her ready for throwing the water held her hand. The lady on her part felt such an excess of the emotion of sexual love that her lower garment was slipping off from her body as its knot had automatically got loosened, ('vītoccayabandhamaṁśukam') (Ki., VIII, 51). When a lover kissed his lady-love hotly on her mouth the knot, 'nīvi', of her lower garment got loosened by itself, making the lower garment slip off from its proper place, (Ki., IX, 47-48). One of the divine damsels trying to seduce Arjuna, putting on a blue lower garment undid the knot which held it in its position thus displacing the garment from its proper position and made a feint of departing quickly holding it in her hands, ('sarabhasamavalambyanīlamanyā vigalitanīvivilolamantarīyam') (Ki., X, 54). The knot of the lower garment or rather the knotted gathers thereof were near or at the navel (Ki., VIII, 24).

Candrāpīḍa mentally picturing to himself the probable actions of Kādambarī on his projected second visit to her says that she will be placing both her hands very firmly over the knot of her lower garment which she would have already had tightened up (Ka., p. 513)('udgāḍhanīvīgranthidṛḍhatarārpitapāṇidvayā'). The word 'nīvī' is paraphrased by the commentator as 'uccaya'.

Māgha describes how, when a lover embraced his lady-love, the knot of the silken lower garmont of the lady gave way and the garment slipped off from its position owing to excess of feeling, in spite of the fact that the elation felt by the lady in her limbs had the effect of making it tighter than it was, ('kauśeyaṁ vrajadapi

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gāḍhatāmajasraṁ sasraṁse vigalitanīvi nīrajākṣyāḥ') (Śi., VIII, 6). A lady on seeing her lover approach her and getting up in excitement from her seat found that her garment was slipping off from its place. She is described as having held the knot or gathers of the garment in her hands and then to have proceeded to wear it again properly (Si., IX, 75). Another lady, on seeing her lover, found her garment-knot giving way and letting the garment drop off the body. In a mixture of feelings created by the situation she simply stood on with her face bent down, ('ālokya priyatamamaṁśuke vinītau yattasthe namitamukhendumānavatyā') (Śi., IX, 84). That the lower garment of a lady automatically slips off when embraced by her husband is again referred to. Such a state sometimes creates a situation where the modesty, honour and self-respect of the lady may be at stake. In one such situation the garment is represented as held more or less in its place on the thighs by the perspiration produced by the excess of feeling (Śi., X, 45). When the situation is such as to lead to nothing but extreme satisfaction and great joy the garment is poetically described as having got released from its bondage (Śi., X, 51), ('yatpriyavyatikarādvanitānāmaṇgajena pulakena babhūve, prāpitena bhṛśamucchvasitābhirnīvibhih sapadi bandhanamokṣah'). The embrace of a lady by her beloved husband is represented here to have raised on her body joyous horripilation which led to the slipping off of her lower garment. The word, 'nīvi', which occurs in this passage in the plural, is construed by Mallinātha to mean 'waist-garment', 'kaṭivastra'. The 'nīvi's of ladies are fancied to have obtained freedom from bondage. It appears to me that the usual meaning of the word 'nīvi' 'gathers' is perhaps more appropriate. The gathers obtained release i. e., the knot slipped off. When ladies moved in excitement and curiosity to see Kṛṣṇa at Indraprastha they held with their hands the knots of their lower garments which were slipping off and thus prevented their falling off from their position, ('kararuddhanīvivigaladaṁśukāh striyah') (Si., XVIII, 31). Husbands preparing for sexual intercourse are said to have stretched their hands towards the navels of their beloveds in order to take off their lower garments by undoing the knot, 'granthimudgrathayitum', or by pulling off the gathers, 'nīvi'. The 'nīvi' which is thus both the knot as well as the gathers, is in the proximity of or rather over the navel (Si., X, 60-64).

In the 'Mālatī-Mādhava' of Bhavabhūti, the Buddhist nun, in narrating her reasons for believing that her young friend, Mālatī, had enjoyed sex-gratification with her lover in her fanciful imagination, refers to the loosening of the tie of Mālatī's lower garment (MM., II, 1. 128). The tie must have got loose as

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Malātī felt the desire for sex-congress with her lover and imagined that he had approached her. Thus, the knot 'nīvībandha' of the lady's lower garment could get loose by itself even at the thought of approaching sex-gratification. The commentator, Jagaddhara, renders the term 'nīvī' by 'jaghanavastrabandhanam', 'tie of the garment over the thighs', and 'bandha' by 'granthi', 'knot', which is manifestly tautologous. Remarking that the loosening of the garment is the result of strong feeling of love, he quotes from a work, presumably on erotics, a stanza supporting his observation that a lady's lower garment gets loose on the rush of erotic feeling: '...ślathatājaghanacchade'. Lavaṅgikā in describing the love-lorn condition of Mālatī informs Mādhava and the Buddhist nun that during sleep sometimes Mālatī's thighs tremble and the tie of the lower garment gets loose, in consequence evidently of her imagining her lover approaching her for sexual embrace: ('tharatharāyamānapīvarorumūlavisaṁvaditanīvībandhanā') (Mm., III, 1. 155).

A lady asked by female friends about her experience of sexual embrace by her lover answers that when her darling came to bed with her the knot of her lower garment got unfastened by itself, ('kānte talpamupāgate vigalitā nīvī svayaṁ bandhanāt'), (Am., v. 101).* In another verse, commented upon by Vemabhūpāla, the poet Amaruka describes the doings of a lady who was ostensibly offended with her lover or husband. The husband or the lover slowly, cautiously and rather timidly touches the knot of the lower garment of the lady, who on her part renders the undoing of the knot quite easy by drawing in her abdomen: ('śanairnīvībandhaṁ spṛśati sabhayavyākulakaram, vidhatte saṁkocaglapitamavalagnaṁ varatanuḥ') (Am., v. 112). The commentator paraphrases the term 'nīvībandha' by 'vastragranthi'. Both the verses read together reveal pretty clearly the nature of the knot that held the lower garment. The gathers or pleats must have been tucked up into the garment rather than tucked in. The gathers and pleats are placed on the edge of the garment at the place where they are to stand and then holding them a little lower they are pressed in and the edge of the garment, where they are placed, is turned over them. Such a knot can easily slip off if there is very heavy heaving of the abdomen consequent on a strong emotion. The unfastening of such a knot is rendered very much easier by the contraction of the abdomen or the upturning of the edge of the garment is facilitated thereby.

Rājaśekhara in his drama 'Viddhaśālabhñjikā' informs us that wearing the garment with fastening of a knot, 'nīvī', which mode is described as charming, is the

* This verse is quoted by Rajasekhara (Km. p. 67). The commentary 'Rasikapriya' quotes it as from Bharata (Gg., II, 6, 3).

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privilege of married ladies, unmarried ones wearing a piece of apparel, which evidently did not require the fastening of such a knot (Vs., I, 34). The king describing the action of the heroine in her love-sick condition points out how she does her garment-knot, 'nīvī', thus indicating her desire to get married when she will be entitled to wear her garment with the knot on (Vs., II, 5).

Śrīharṣa describing the extreme modesty of the newly married Damayantī informs us that she used to guard the knot of her lower garment even in sleep (Na., XVIII, 46). The expression used is 'nīvisīman', 'the boundary of the pleats', which is paraphrased by the commentator as 'vasanapaṭṭikāparisara', the neighbourhood of the pleats of the garment. The word 'nīvi' thus means here the pleats or gathers and not the knot of the garment. 'Paṭṭikā' in the sense of 'pleats' is perhaps the predecessor of the Gujarati word 'pāṭalī'. In describing the amorous actions of the newly married Nala, the poet speaks of his stretching his hand in the midst of the 'nīvi' of Damayantī's garment, 'madhyenīvi', (Na., XX, 143). The commentator rightly translates the expression by 'in the midst of pleats', using 'nīvi' in the plural. Yet the usual sense of the word 'nīvi' reappears in the poet's narration of Damayantī's concern over her vesture. She asks her friends to tie the knot of the garment rather firm and tight, ('svanīvinibiḍakriyā'), (Na., XVIII, 51).

Hemacandra informs us that, when the queen of king Karṇa of Gurjararāṣtra was pregnant, the old authorized ladies instructed her to tie the knot of her lower garment rather loose, ('ślatham yamyā nīvi'), (Dv., Vol. II, p. 7). The term 'nīvī' is paraphrased by the commentator of the thirteenth century as the knot of the lower garment, ('adhovastragranthih').

XV. 'Miscellaneous'

(a) AUSPICIOUS DRESS (Male)

On auspicious occasions like that of marriage, coronation or even of starting on an expedition males used to wear a garment of silk with pictures of swans drawn or stamped on its ground or borders (K. VII, 32; R. XVII, 25; H. p. 274).

At marriage the groom used to put on two new silk garments (K, VII, 72) (R. VII, 18; 'dukūla' = 'kṣauma' according to Mallinātha).

For coronation two 'kṣauma' garments were necessary and they were called 'maṅgala' (R. XII, 8). Similarly Rāma put on two bark-garments ('valkala') when he

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started for the forest (R. XII, 8). Candrāpīḍa ascended the throne, after being crowned by his father, wearing only two white silk cloths with long and uncut fringes, ('dīrghadaśamanupahatamindudhavalaṁ dukūlayugalaṁ vasānah'), (Ka., p. 210).

Bāṇa, starting to meet king Harṣa, is described as wearing a white washed silk garment. Only a single garment is meant. And we cannot say that he also wore another upper garment. His father's sister, too, who did all the customary rites of auspicious departure, was dressed in a white cloth (H., p. 91).

On auspicious occasions males and even females were presented with two red garments (N., p. 41, Act. III; p. 58, Act IV; Ra., p. 153, Act IV). Victims too were dressed in two red garments (Mr., X, 44), (N., p. 64, Act IV).

When Śakuntalā was to be sent to her husband's place she was to be dressed up in the auspicious type of dress, the dress that was to be worn at the time of marriage, perhaps. We are told that the forest trees presented the auspicious dress. Rāghavabhaṭṭa tells us that we must understand by the expression a pair of white silk garments whose hanging ends were not cut and which had borders dyed with 'gorocana' or on which pictures were drawn with it (S., IV. 4). In support of his interpretation he points out that the expression used further on (S., IV after v. 5) clearly contemplates two garments and not one.

In 'Ṛtusaṁhāra' the dress of a newly wed bride is twice referred to. In the autumn season her dress is spoken of as white, while in spring it is described as red or orange (?), ('raktāṁśuka'), (Rt. III, 1; VI, 19).

(b) DRESS AT BATH

A separate garment used to be worn at the time of taking a bath (K. VII, 9; M., V, v. 20), ('snānīyavastrakriyayā patrorṇaṁ vopayujyate').

It was in an old bath-towel, 'snānaśāṭī' that the ornaments of Vasantasenā were tied up by Vidūṣaka when they were given in his charge (M., III, 18. 11-12).

(c) DRESS AT MARRIAGE

Cārudatta had put on a red garment when he was sentenced to be hanged. When he met Vasantasenā on the way he was all surprised and declared that his dress, though it was put on in preparation for his death, was fit enough for his marriage with her (Mr., X, 44). A male would thus appear to have to put on a red garment at his wedding.

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In the 'Pārvatīpariṇaya' we are told that Śiva had put on the nuptial-dress but are not given any details thereof (Pp., p. 39).

The silk garment to be worn by the bride at her marriage was to be such as had (in its border) pictures of flamingo drawn or stamped (K., V, 67) ('vadhūdukūlam kalahaṁsalakṣaṇam').

There were regional differences in the wedding attire of a lady. Mālavikā, being a Vidarbha princess, was instructed to be dressed in the marital attire prevalent in Vidarbha (Berar) (M. (b) V. after v. 3). We do not get any details regarding these differences. The only information vouchsafed to us is that Mālavikā had put on a silk garment which did not hang very low.

A princess of the Aṅgas, who is a married lady and who has planned to marry privately by herself Apahāravarman leaving her husband, is described as wearing the wedding dress, 'vaivāhikanepathya' (Ds., p. 160).

For the oil-bath before marriage Pārvatī was dressed in a fine 'kauśeya' garment. After her bath she put on a white silk cloth, 'karpūrakṣodapāṇḍuramkṣaumam'. A jewelled belt was tied on her hips, 'maṇimayakāñcī' (Pp., p. 37). We know no more details of her dress for the wedding. There is nothing about her upper garment.

In Bhavabhūti's 'Mālatī-Mādhava' we are told that the bridal dress of Mālatī sent by her future husband's people was to be put on her person before the deity. It consisted of a white silk 'colaka' and a red upper garment, and other ornaments and adornments (Mm., VI, 11. 83-85). Later on Makaranda, the friend of Mādhava, dresses himself in this bridal dress and passes off as Mālatī, clad for the wedding (Mm., VI, 11. 236–40). 'Colaka' here must mean a long loose robe, the same as 'kañcuka'.

(d) DRESS OF MOTHER

Tārāpīḍa assures his queen Vilāsavatī that he was quite anxious to see her wear a yellow garment, and take her infant son in her lap: ('kadā hāridravasanadhāriṇī sutasanāthotsaṅgā...māmānandayiṣyati devī') (Ka., p. 125). It is clear from this reference that ladies were enjoined to put on a yellow garment after their first delivery and take the child in the lap. We may perhaps conclude with justice that the right to wear a yellow garment accrued to a lady only after she became a

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mother, ('haridrayā rajanyā raktam hāridram', Commentator). The yellow garment was, it seems, dyed in turmeric.

(e) DRESS AT RITES

For religious rites ladies used to wear a special dress. The dress which the queen Dhāriṇī wore for this purpose consisted of a white silken garment and the accessories of Durvā and other things (V., v. 12 and before it). Probably two white silk garments are meant.

In the 'Priyadarśikā' of Harṣa the queen is described as observing a vow and the hero anxious to see her in her observance finds her wearing only the auspicious items of a married lady's dress: ('maṅgalamātramaṇḍanabhṛt') (Pri., I, v. 1).

(f) DRESS AT WORSHIP

Description of king Prabhākaravardhana when worshipping the Sun runs: 'Covering his head with a white piece of cloth and wearing a white silken garment, he kneeled with his face to the east' etc. No other garment is referred to (H., p. 178).

Tārāpīḍa dressed himself for the worship of deities in three garments. Two of them were washed and white fine cloths, evidently serving as the lower and the upper garments. The third was a piece of the finest white silk which he folded over his head: ('viṣadharanirmokaparilaghunī dhavale paridhāya dhautavāsasī...atidhavalajaladharacchedaśucinā dukūlapaṭapallavena...kṛtaśiroveṣṭanah') (Ka., p. 33). Similarly, Candrāpīḍa covered his head with a piece of white silk when he prepared himself for the worship of deities ('svacchadukūlapallavākalitamaulergṛhitavāsasah') (Ka., p. 191).

Śrīharṣa describes Nala as he appeared prepared for the worship of his household deities. His wearing of an upper garment, 'uttarīya', which he adjusted so as properly to cover his bosom is the most prominent feature of his dress. The commentator observes regarding the reference to the upper garment: "As according to Smṛtis and similar works a person is not entitled to perform a religious act wearing only one garment, the wearing of the upper garment is referred to" (Na.).

Hemacandra informs us that the Brahmins, who sacrificed at the marriage of Kumārapāla with Anna's daughter, wore their upper garments (Dv., Vol. II, p. 527). The expression used is 'bṛhatikāvantah', which is rendered by the commentator as 'uttarāsaṅgavastrāvṛtāh'.

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(g) DRESS DURING SEPARATION OF LOVERS (Female)

In her separation a lady used to wear her hair in a single braid but put on two garments as usual. Only they were rather dirty-coloured and not bright (S., VII, v. 21 and before it). Rāghavabhaṭṭa specifies the two garments ('vasana') as the lower garment ('antarīya') and the upper garment ('upasaṁvyāna').

(h) DRESS OF A LOVESTRICKEN WOMAN

The 'abhisārikā' attire of Urvaśī is described as having consisted in the putting on of a blue garment ('nīlāṁśukaparigraha') (V. III, after v. 9).

Rādhā's friend advises her to put on the dress of an 'abhisārikā' and then to proceed to meet Kṛṣṇa. It consists of a cloak, 'nicola' of purple colour. This is the meaning of 'nīla' given in the commentary 'Rasikapriyā' (Gg., p. 81, v. 4).

(i) UTSANGA

In the 'Pratimānāṭaka' of Bhāsa when Sītā's maid tells her that Rāma was to be consecrated on the throne Sītā asks her to spread out her cloth long and wide, ('viśālataramutsaṅgaṁ kuru'). The maid does so and the next stage-direction informs us that Sītā pours all her ornaments into this lap of her maid (Bh., p. 254; Pra I, 481-83). 'Utsaṅga' thus must be taken to be the equivalent of the Marāthī 'oṭī', though Woolner and Sarup render the expression by 'give a long and close embrace' (Vol. I, p. 160).

Queen Yaśomatī when she had prepared herself for immolation is described as shedding tears which dropping on the portion of her garment below the navel are fancied by Bāṇa to be the flowers being collected in the lap of the garment, ('citānalārcanakusumairiva dhavaladhavalairaśrubindubhiraṁśukotsaṅgamāpūrayantīm'), (H., p. 228).

(j) KATISUTRA

Among the things which Harṣa sent as presents to Haṁsavega, the messenger of the friendly king of Assam, was a belt, 'kaṭisūtra' inlaid with bright pearls, which was named 'Pariveśa' (H., p. 293).

(k) PATTABANDHA

Mahādevī or the crowned queen was alone entitled to tie round her head the fillet or diadem of honour called 'paṭṭabandha' (H., pp. 114, 231).

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Kane observes: "'Paṭṭa' is the broad band which runs round the crown immediately above the forehead. The 'Bṛhatsaṁhitā' (Chap. 49) gives some directions about 'paṭṭa's to be worn on the crowns of kings, queens etc." (H. (c), p. 100, notes).

Among the emblems accompanying the right to use the term 'mahādevī' is that of fastening on the head a band of gold, ('hemapaṭṭalāñchana') (Ka., p. 324).

Murāri in his play, 'Anargharāghava', fancies the river Śarayū to be the beauty of the diadem or the fillet of the earth, the crowned queen of the Ikṣvākus (A. VII, v. 130).

(l) REGIONAL OR LOCAL PECULIARITIES OF DRESS

In the drama 'Svapnavāsavadatta' of Bhāsa, Vāsavadattā, who is to be falsely proclaimed as being burnt down in a conflagration and is to be deposited with the lady whom Vāsavadattā's husband is to be led to marry, is described as wearing the dress of a lady from Avanti, ('āvantikāveṣadhāriṇī'), (Bh., p. 1; Sv., 1[6]). Vāsavadattā was a princess of Avanti country. It thus seems likely that there were even local peculiarities in female dress.

ABBREVIATIONS

A: 'Anargharāghava' of Murāri, ed. by Durgāprasād and W. L. Paṇśīkar (N. S. P., 1929).

Am.: 'Amaruśataka' of Amaruka, ed. by Durgāprasād, Parab and Paṇśīkar (N. S. P., 1929).

Bh.: 'Bhāsanāṭakacakram': "Plays ascribed to Bhāsa", ed. by C. R. Devadhar (1937)

De.: 'Deśīnāmamālā' of Hemacandra, ed. by Pischel and Rāmānujaswāmi (B. S. S., 1938).

Ds.: 'Daśakumāracarita' of Daṇḍin, ed. by N. B. Godbole and W. L. Paṇśīkar (N. S. P., 1933).

Dv.: 'Dvyāśrayakāvya' of Hemacandra, ed. by A. V. Kāthavate (B. S. S.)

G.: 'Gaüḍavaho' of Vākpatirāja, ed. by S. P. Pandit and N. B. Utgikar (B. S. S., 1927).

Ga.: 'Gāthāsaptaśatī' of Sātavāhana or Hāla, ed. by Durgāprasād and W. L. Paṇśīkar (N. S. P., 1911).

(b) ed. by Jagadish Lal Shastri as 'Gāthāsaptaśatīprakāśikā' (IV-VII) (1942).

Gg.: 'Gītagovinda' of Jayadeva, ed. M. R. Telang and W. L. Paṇśīkar (N. S. P., 1929).

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H.: 'Harṣacarita' of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, ed. by A. A. Führer (B. S. S., 1909).
(b) ed. by P. V. Kane (I-IV) (1918).
(c) ed. by P. V. Kane (IV-VIII) (1917).

K.: 'Kumārasaṁbhava' of Kālidāsa, ed. by W. L. Paṇśīkar (N. S. P.).
(b) ed. with the commentaries of Aruṇagirināṭha and Nārāyaṇapaṇḍita by T. Gaṇapati Sāstri (I-VIII) (T. S. S.).

Ka.: 'Kādambarī' of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, ed. by K. P. Parab and W. L. Paṇśīkar (N. S. P., 1932).

Kam.: 'Kāvyamīmāṁsā of Rājaśekhara, ed. by C. D. Dalal and others (G. O. S., 1934.)
(b) Haridāsa Skt. Series.

Ki.: 'Kirātārjunīya' of Bhāravi, ed. by Durgāprasād and K. P. Parab (N. S. P.).

Km.: 'Karpūramañjarī' of Rājaśekhara, ed. by Konow and Lanman (1901).
(b) ed. by Durgāprasād and Parab (N. S. P., 1900).

M.: 'Mālavikāgnimitra' of Kālidāsa, ed. by. K. P. Parab (N. S. P.).
(b) ed. with Translation and Notes by R. D. Karmarkar.

Ma.: 'Mahāvīracarita' of Bhavabhūti (N. S. P., 1926).

Me.: 'Meghadūta' of Kālidāsa, ed. with the commentary of Sthiradeva by V. G. Parānjpe.

Mm.: 'Mālatimādhava' of Bhavabhūti, ed. by R. G. Bhāndārkar (B. S. S., 1905).

Mr.: 'Mṛcchakaṭika' of Śūdraka, ed. by R. D. Karmarkar (1937).

Mu.: 'Mudrārākṣasa' of Viśākhadatta, ed. by K. T. Telang (B. S. S., 5th ed.).

N.: 'Nāgānanda' of Harṣa, (B. I. S.).

Na.: 'Naiṣadhīyacarita' of Śrīharṣa, ed. by Pandit Sivadatta and Paṇśīkar (N. S. P. 1919).

Pp.: 'Pārvatīpariṇaya' of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, ed. by M. R. Telang (N. S. P. 1923).

Pri.: 'Priyadarśikā' of Harṣa, ed. by Nariman, Jackson and Ogden (Col. U. S.).

R.: 'Raghuvaṁśa' of Kālidāsa, ed. by W. S. Paṇśīkar (N. S. P.).

Ra.: 'Ratnāvalī' of Harṣa, (N. S. P., 1925).

Raj.: 'Rājataraṅginī' of Kalhaṇa, ed. and trans. by M. A. Stein (1890).
(b) Trans. by R. S. Pandit (1935)

Rt.: 'Rtusaṁhāra' of Kālidāsa, ed. by S. D. & A. B. Gajendragadkar (1916).
(b) ed. by W. L. Paṇśīkar (N. S. P., 1931).

S.: 'Śākuntala' of Kālidāsa, ed. by N. B. Godbole and W. L. Paṇśīkar (N. S. P.).

Si.: 'Śiśupālavadha' of Māgha, ed. by Durgāprasād, Sivadatta and Paṇśīkar (N. S. P., 1933).

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Sr.: 'Śrīkaṇṭhacarita' of Maṅkha, ed. by Durgāprasād and Parab (N. S. P., 1900).
Sub.: 'Subhāṣitatriśatī' of Bhartṛhari, ed. by W. L. Paṇśīkar (1925).
Ve.: 'Veṇīsaṁhāra' of Bhaṭṭanārāyana, ed. by Paṇśīkar and Parab (N. S. P., 1935).
Vi.: 'Vikramāṅkadevacarita' of Bilhaṇa, ed. by G. Bühler (1875).
Vs.: 'Viddhaśālabhañjikā' of Rājaśekhara, ed. by Jivanand Vidyasāgar.
(b) ed. by B. R. Arte and K. R. Godbole (1886).
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Approximate dates of Authors

Amaruka	:	end of the 7th century A. D.
Bāṇabhaṭṭa	:	first half of the 7th „ „
Bhāravi	:	c. A. D. 500.
Bhartṛhari	:	latter half of the 6th century A. D.
Bhāsa	:	before Kālidāsa.
Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa	:	third quarter of the 9th century A. D.
Bhavabhūti	:	end of the 7th century A. D.
Bilhaṇa	:	fourth quarter of the 11th century A. D.
Daṇḍin	:	latter half of the 6th century A. D.
Hāla	:	between A. D. 200 and A. D. 450.
Harṣa	:	first half of the 7th century A. D.
Hemacandra	:	third quarter of the 12th century A. D.
Jayadeva	:	12th century A. D.
Kalhaṇa	:	second quarter of the 12th century A. D.
Kālidāsa	:	c. A. D. 400.
Māgha	:	c. A. D. 700.
Maṅkha	:	middle of the 12th century A. D.
Murāri	:	before the 9th century A. D.
Rājaśekhara	:	first half of the 10th century A. D.
Śrīharṣa	:	latter half of the 12th century A. D.
Śūdraka	:	6th century A. D. (?).
Vākpatirāja	:	first quarter of the 8th century A. D.
Viśākhadatta	:	about the 8th century A. D.

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ERRATUM

Page 160 — for (337–339) read 337–338a
„ 187 — for 347 read 346
„ XIV after 306 read 306A — Boar incarnation; Mahabalipur.
„ XVI after 340 for Berbers read Barbers.
„ „ after 360 for 351 read 361.
Under picture 407 for Cakravati read Cakravarti.

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(Gandhara, Panjab, etc.)

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54. Headless male figure from Swat. *A.S.I.R.*, 1903–04, pl. 68.

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55. Engraving on a brass "lota"; undated; Gundla in Kulu. Birdwood's *Industrial Arts of India*, p. 154; *A.S.W.I.*, IV, p. 6, fig. 5; (Kensington Museum, London).
56. Female figure on a glazed earthenware tile; 17th century A.D.; Panjab. Smith's *F.A.I.C.*, pl. 145, fig. A.

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(Amin, Lucknow, Mathura, Mirpurkhas & Suratgadh)

57. Colossal figure of Yakṣa; 3rd century B.C.; Parkham, near Mathura. *M.A.S.I.*, 30, pl. VI d; Coomaraswamy's *H.I.I.A.*, pl. III, 9.
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61. Bracket figure from Toraṇa beam; 1st century B.C.; Kankali Tila, Mathura. Smith's *Mathura Jaina Stupa*, pl. XXXV; Smith's *Fine Art in India & Ceylon*, pl. 18, fig. c.
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63. Bracket figure, Yakṣī, from Mathura; 1st century B.C. Coomaraswamy's *H.I. I.A.*, pl. XX, fig. 75. Photo: Lucknow Museum.
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74. Statue of a dwarf or of Vaiśravaṇa Yakṣa; Kankali Tila, Mathura, ibid. pl. LXXXVIII.

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75. Head from Mathura; ditto. ibid., pl. CI.
76. Headless figure of a high personage; ditto; Ganeswara ruins. Smith's *Mathura Jaina Stupa*, pl. LXXXVII; Lucknow Museum.
77. Ditto (back view). ibid.
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79. Female figures from a balustrade from Bhutesar; Mathura. Vogel's *La Sculpture de Mathura*, pl. XVIII.
80. Central figure from the above. ibid. On these and other nude or semi-nude female figures see Coomaraswamy, *H.I.I.A.*, pp. 64–5.
81. Women worshippers of Jina; Mathura. Smith's *Mathura Jaina Stupa*, pl. VI.
82. Couple from Amin, near Thaneswar; Mathura. Sculpture ascribed to Kuṣāṇa period. *A.S.I.*, 1922–23, pl. V.
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90. Lower part of a male statue from Mathura. ibid., pl. XXXIV, b.
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98. A rustic couple in terracotta relief; ditto; Suratgadh, Bikaner State. *A.S.I.*, 1917–18, pl. XIII, fig. 3.
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WESTERN (A)

(Rajasthan)

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107. 'Baba Maluka Das & his nephew Rama Snehi'; 16th or 17th century. Malūkdāsa who hailed from Kaḍa on the Gangā in Allahabad district is shown sitting on the verandah of his house. Mehta's *S.I.P.*, pl. 49 (p. 111).
108. At the well; end of the 17th century. Mehta, *Bhāratīya-citrakalā*, picture 13.
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116. Dāna-Līlā; 19th century. Mehta's *S.I.P.*, pl. 20.

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117. A lady; painting ascribed by Mehta to the middle of the 16th century A.D. Mehta's *B.C.K.*, picture 41.
118. Pig-sticking; modern; (Jaipur). Coomaraswamy, *H.I.I.A.*, pl. LXXXVI, 263.

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(Gujarat)

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120. Jain painting, Brahma–Śānti Yakṣa, Nawab's *Jainacitrakalpadruma*, pl. XII.
121. Jain painting, Śāradā; 15th century A.D. Nawab's *Jainacitrakalpadruma*, pl. XI, picture 40.
122. Jain painting, Śakra disguised as a Brahmin; first half of the 15th century A.D. Brown's *The Story of Kālaka*, pl. VIII, fig. 19.
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124. Jain painting, Brahmins; 15th century A.D. *Jainacitrakalpadruma*, pl. LIX.
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126. Gujarati painting, scene from *Vasanta Vilāsa;* 15th century A.D. Mehta's *Studies in Indian Painting*, pl. 6.
127. Gujarati painting, lady from *Vasanta Vilāsa* paintings; 15th century A.D. Mehta's *Gujarati Painting of the 15th century*, picture 64.
128. Jain painting, a lady; 16th century A.D. (?) Nawab's *Jainacitrakalpadruma*, pl. LXXIV, picture 236.
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130. Gujarati Vaiṣṇava painting from *Gītagovindams;* early 16th century. *J. Bom. U.*, Sept. 1941, pl. V.
131. Gujarati Vaiṣṇava painting from *Bālagopālastuti;* early 16th century. Majmudar's art., *J. of the I. Soc. of Oriental Art*, 1942, pl. VI. Photo–Majmudar.
132. Jain painting, scene in connection with an imperial 'firman'; 1610 A.D. Mehta's *Studies in Indian Painting*, pl. 30.

CENTRAL

(East of Mathura and West of Patna)

133. Colossal statue of a Yakṣa female; Maurya period; Besnagar, near Bhopal. *M. A. S. I.*, 30, pl. VI a.
134. Same.

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135. Same. Coomaraswamy's *H. I. I. A.*, pl. III 8; Smith's *F. A. I. C.*, pl. 8.
136. Male head (side and front views); 3rd century B. C., Sarnath, near Benares. Bachhofer's *E. I. Sc.*, pl. XII; Coomaraswamy's *H.I.I.A.*, pl. VI, 18.
137. Kubera, the king of Yakṣas; 2nd century B. C., Bharhut. Cunningham's *Stupa of Bharhut*, pl. XXII, a.
138. Suciloma Yakṣa; same; same. ibid., pl. XXII b.
139. Gaṇagīta Yakṣa; same. Cunningham's *S. B.*, pl. XXI a
140. Cakavāka, the king of Nāgas; same. Cunningham's *S.B.*, pl. XXI c.
141. Warrior; Bharhut. Bachhofer's *E. I. Sc.*, pl. XXII. Mujumdar's *Handbook to the Sculpture in the Indian Museum* pl. VII a.
142. Sudarśanā Yakṣī; Bharhut. Smith's *F. A. I. C.*, pl. 5.
143. Candā Yakṣi; Bharhut. Cunningham's *S. B.*, pl. XXII c.
144. Yakṣī; 2nd century B. C., Batanmara. Cunningham's *S. B.*, pl. XXI b. Coomaraswamy's *H. I. I. A.*, pl. XI 37; Smith's *F. A. I. C.*, pl. 5.
145. Cūlakokā Devatā; 2nd century B. C., Bharhut. Cunningham's *S. B.*, pl. XXIII c.
146. Sirīmā Devatā; same. Cunningham's *S. B.*, pl. XXIII.
147. Drawing of the girdle & lower dress of Sirīmā Devatā. Cunningham's *S. B.*, pl. LI, 2.
148. Remains of 'toraṇa' of Eastern Gateway; Bharhut. Cunningham's *S.B.*, pl. VIII.
149. Female figure from Gateway Pillar; (found at Patora), Bharhut. Cunningham's *S. B.*, pl. XX b.
150. Relief of a couple, from Gateway Pillar; (found at Patora), Bharhut. Cunningham's *S. B.*, pl. XX.
151. Scene from coping; Bharhut Stūpa. Cunningham's *S.B.*, pl. XLVI, 8.
152. Same. ibid. pl. XLIV, 4.
153. Same. ibid. pl. XLIV, 2
154. Scene from Ajātaśatru pillar; Bharhut Stūpa. ibid., pl. XVII.
155. Figures of donors from Prasenajit pillar; Bharhut Stūpa. ibid., pl. XIV; Coomaraswamy's *H.I.I.A.*, pl. XII, 44.
156. Scene from Bharhut; W. Cohn's *Indische Plastik*, pl. 5.
157. Scene from coping; Bharhut Stūpa. Cunningham's *S.B.* pl. XLV, 3.
158. Scene from Bharhut Stūpa; Otto Fischer's *Die Kunst Indians, Chinas und Japans*, pl. I. opp. p. 150.
159. Scene of Devadhamma 'sabhā' from Ajātaśatru pillar. Cunningham's *S.B.* pl. XVI a.
160. Māyādevī's dream; Bharhut. ibid., pl. XXVIII c.
161. Female figure; 2nd–1st century B. C., Sanci, west gateway. Maisey's *Sanchi & its Remains*, pl., XIV, fig. 4.

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162. Female figure; 2nd–1st century B. C., Sanci, north gateway (back view). Maisey's *Sanchi & its Remains*, pl. XIV, fig 3; Fergusson's *T.S.W.*, pl. III, fig. 1.
163. Female bracket figure; same; Sanci, east gateway. Marshall and Foucher's *M.S.*, pl. 48.
164. Female bracket figure; 1st century B. C., Sanci, north gateway. Marshall and Foucher's *M.S.*, pl. 25.
165. Female bracket figure; Sanci. Marshall & Foucher's *M.S.*, pl. 25.
166. Female Head; Sanci. Fergusson's *T.S.W.*, pl. III, fig. 3.
167. Scene of Bodhi-tree worship; Sanci. Maisey's *Sanchi & its Remains*. pl. XXIV.
168. Garden scene; Sanci. Fergusson s *T.S.W.* pl. XXXVII, fig. 2.
169. Scene of Bodhi-tree worship; Sanci. Maisey's *S.R.*, pl. VII, fig. 2.
170. Scene from Sanci Stūpa. Fergusson's *T.S.W.*, pl. III fig. 2.
171. Scene of Royal couple; 2nd–1st century B. C., Sanci, south gateway. Fergusson's *T.S.W.*, pl. XXX, fig. 1.
172. Scene from south gateway, Sanci. ibid. pl. XXX, fig. 1.
173. Worship scene from Sanci. ibid., pl. XXIX, fig 1.
174. Scene of Bodhi-tree worship; Sanci. ibid., pl. XXVII, fig. 1.
175. Scene of Bodhi-tree worship; Sanci. ibid., pl. XXXIII.
176. Worship of Dhammacakka; Sanci. ibid., pl. XXIX, fig. 2.
177. Male cauri-bearer; Sanci. Marshall & Foucher's *The Monuments of Sanchi*, pl. 22.
178. Cauri-bearer; Sanci. Marshall & Foucher, pl. 30 b.
179. Male figure; Sanci, east–gateway. Bachhofer's *E.I.Sc.*, pl. LVIII; Smith's *F.A.I.C.*, pl. 13.
180. Terracotta female figurine; Śunga & Āndhra period; Bhita, near Allahabad. *A.S.I.*, 1911–12, pl. XXII, 18.
181. Figure of Yakṣa; Śunga times; Kosam (Kausambi), near Allahabad. *A.S.I.*, 1921–22, pl. XXI, d.
182. Headless female figure; 1st century B. C., Sarnath, near Benares. *A.S.I.*, 1914–15, pl. LXV c.
183. Female head; same; Sarnath, near Benares. *A.S.I.*, 1914–15, pl. LXV. Sarnath Museum.
184. Yakṣa Maṇibhadra; 1st century B. C.–1st century A. D.; Pawaya (Padmavati), Gwalior State. Coomaraswamy's *H.I.I.A.*, pl. XVIII, 63.; Gwalior Museum; Pl. X of Garde's *Handbook* (1st ed.). R. Chanda's dating of this work on palaeographic grounds in the second half of the 1st century B. C. accords with the stylistic evidence (Coomaraswamy, *H.I.I.A.*, p. 34).

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185. Same (back view), Gwalior Museum.
186. A girdled waist of a woman; 1st century A. D., Pawaya, Gwalior State. Gwalior Museum.
187. Scene from Bagh caves; Gupta period. First scene, *The Bagh Caves*, pl. A.
188. Dance scene from Bagh caves; ibid. Fourth scene. ibid., pls. D & E.
189. Fifth scene from Bagh. ibid., pl. F.
190. Male head; Gupta period; Kosam, near Allahabad. Patna Museum. No. 7915.
191. Female cauri-bearer; Gupta period; Sarnath. *A.S.I.*, 1921–22, pl. XXI b.
192. The dancing girls of the king of Benares; Gupta period; Sarnath. Sahni's *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnāth.* pl. XXVI.
193. Same. ibid., pl. XXVII.
194. Terracotta dancing male figure; 4th century A. D. Pawaya, Gwalior Museum.
195. Terracotta female figure; ibid.
196. Image of Śiva–Pārvatī; middle of the 5th century A. D., Kosam, near Allahabad. *A.S.I.*, 1913–14, pl. LXX.
197. Avalokiteśwara; Gupta period; Sarnath. Sahni's *C.M.A.S.*, pl. XIII.
198. Image of Tārā; Gupta period; Sarnath. *A.S.I.*, 1914–15, pl. LXV, a.
199. Gaṅgā; ca. A. D. 500, Besnagar, near Bhopal. Coomaraswamy's *H.I.I.A.*, pl. XLVII, 177; Smith's *F.A.I.C.*, pl. 46 B.
200. Female figure; 5th century A. D.; Garhwa (?), near Allahabad. Codrington's *Mediaeval Indian Sculpture*, pl. 4.
201. Female figure; ca. 6th century A.D.; Garhwa (?), near Allahabad. Codrington's *M.I.Sc.*, pl. 5 b.
202. Gandharva couple; 6th century A. D.; Sondni, Gwalior State. Gwalior Museum.
203. Relief sculpture from a temple; lower half of the reclining Viṣṇu panel; ca. 600 A. D. Deogarh, Jhansi Dist. Otto Fischer, p. 181; Smith's *F.A.I.C.*, pl. 49.
204. Janapada dance scene from Pawaya or Padmavati; Gupta period. *J.U. P.H.S.*, 1945, pl. I, fig. 1.
205. Yaśodā & Nanda panel from Daśāvatāra temple, Deogarh; Gupta period. *J.U.P.H.S.*, 1945, pl. I, fig. 2. "Yashoda is distinguished by her village costume consisting of a scarf on the head *(orhni)*, a long tunic *(choli)*, & a petticoat *(langha)*", (Agrawala, ibid.).
206. Nativity of Kṛṣṇa; 7th century A. D.; Pathari, Gwalior State. [According to Mr. M. B. Garde it is from Badoh near Besnagar & Bhilsa. *(Archaeology in Gwalior*, 2nd ed., pl. *X*)] Coomaraswamy's *H.I.I.A.*, pl. XLVII, 178; Gwalior Museum.

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207. Sun god; Gupta period; Bhumara, Nagod State, Baghelkhand. *A.S.I.*, 1924–25, pl. XXXVI, d; *M.A.S.I.*, pl. XIV a.
208. Indrāṇī; 10th century A. D.; Kota, Gwalior State. Gwalior Museum.
209. Apsaras; 10th–11th century A.D. (?) Khajuraho, Bundelkhand. Otto Fischer, p. 264.
210. Group of ladies; 10th to 12th century A. D.; Bundelkhand. Coomaraswamy's *Portfolio of Indian Art*, pl. XX.

EASTERN

(Bodhagaya, Cuttack, Gaya, Khiching, Nalanda, Paharpur, Patna, Rajasan, Rajgir, Rajmahal, Rajshahi)

211. Yakṣa or male cauri–bearer; Maurya period (front and back views); Patna. *M.A.S.I.*, 30, pl. IV, a & b. Indian Museum.
212. Same (three quarters front view); Maurya period; Patna. Patna Museum.
213. Female cauri-bearer; Maurya period; Didarganj, Patna. Coomaraswamy's *H.I.I.A.*, pl. V, fig. 17. Patna Museum.
214. Same as above (back view).
215. Terracotta female figurine (front view); Maurya period; Bulandi Bagh, Patna. *A.S.I.*, 1926–27, pl. XXXI, k; Patna Museum.
216. Same as above (back view). Patna Museum.
217. Terracotta female figurine; Maurya period; Patna. Patna Museum.
218. Same as above (back view).
219. Teracotta female figurine, Maurya period, Patna. Patna Museum. No. 4195 (Arch)
220. Erotic scene; Bodhagayā, Coomaraswamy's *La Sculpture de Bodhagaya*, pl. LIII.
221. Couple; Bodhagayā. ibid., pl. LIV.
222. Standing female; Bodhagaya. ibid., pl. XL.
223. Indra as the Brahmin Śānti; 100–50 B. C., Bodhagayā. *M.A.S.I.*, 30, pl. VII; Bachhofer, *E.I.S.C.*, pl. 39; Coomaraswamy's *H.I.I.A.*, pl. XI, fig. 40.
224. Female; Śunga times; Rajasan, Muzaffarpur Dist. *A.S.I.*, 1918–19, pl. XVII, fig. 58.
225. Terracotta plaque of female figure; Kuṣāṇa period; Patna, Patna Museum. No. 6782 (Arch.)
226. Boy's head; Kuṣāṇa period, Patna. Patna Museum. No. 4372 (Arch).
227. Candragupta I & his queen Kumāradevī; Samudragupta's coin. Allan, pl. III, 11.

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228. Goddess Lakṣmī; Samudragupta's coin. Allan, pl. V, 2.
229. Goddess Lakṣmī; Coin of Kumāragupta I. Allan, pl. XIII, 14.
230. King; Coin of Kumāragupta I. Allan, pl. XV, 9.
231. Stucco relief of Nāgiṇī, female of the Nāga race; Gupta period; Maṇiyār Maṭha, Rajgir. Coomaraswamy's *H.I.I.A.*, pl. XLVII, 176; Smith's *F.A.I.C.*, pl. 46, fig. c.
232. Stone relief of Gangā; 8th century A. D.; Cuttack, Orissa. Patna Museum.
233. Statuette from Nalanda, Bihar. *A.S.I.*, 1917–18, pl. XIV.
234. Sculpture from Paharpur; 10th century A. D.; Bengal; *A.S.I.*, 1926–27, pl. XXXIII, b.
235. Gangā; beginning of the 10th century A. D.; Isvaripur, South Bengal. Stella Kramrisch in *Rupam*, 1929 (Pala & Sena Sculpture).
236. Sculptures from Khiching; 10th–11th century A. D. (?); Khiching, Mayurbhanj. *A.S.I.*, 1923–24, pl. XXXIV.
237. Apsaras from Rājārāṇī temple; 10th–11th century A. D. (?); Bhuvanesvara, Orissa. Otto Fischer, p. 263.
238. Lower part of female figure from a temple; Orissa. Otto Fischer, p. 262.
239. Marriage of Śiva; first half of the 11th century A. D.; Gaya. *A.S.I.*, 1925–26, pl. LXVII, b. Indian Museum, Calcutta.
240. Reclining female with a child; Sadyojātā (?); middle of the 11th century A. D.; Rajshahi, North Bengal. Stella Kramrisch in *Rupam*, 1929 (Pala & Sena Sculpture).
241. Gangā; Pāla period; Rajshahi, N. Bengal. Patna Museum (Cast No. 148).
242. Horse & man; 12th century A. D.; Konarak, Orissa. Smith & Codrington, pl. 76A.
243. Female attendant; 11th–13th century A. D.; Rajmahal, Bihar. Patna Museum.
244. Religious procession; Painting of the latter half of the 18th century; Bengal. Ajit Ghose in *Indian Art & Letters*, vol. II, pl. I (p. 48).
245. Brass figure of Lakṣmī, Nepal (undated). *Indian Art & Letters*, vol. I, frontispiece.

DECCAN

246. Donors of the Caitya cave; 1st century B. C.; Karle, near Poona. Fergusson & Burgess' *The Cave Temples of India*, pl. XIV.
247. Sculpture in the left end of the verandah of the Caitya cave; Karle. *A.S.W.I.*, vol. IV, pl. XIII, fig. 2.

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248. Figures in cave VI; 1st century B.C.; Kuda. *A.S.W.I.*, vol. IV, pl. VIII fig. 7.
249. Figures of donors on the inner facade of the Caitya cave; 1st century B.C.; Kanheri, near Bombay. *A.S.W.I.*, vol. IV, pl. XXXIX; Coomaraswamy's *H.I.I.A.*, pl. XXXI, fig. 135.
250. Same–panel on the left.
251. Female figures from the earliest paintings in Cave X; 1st century B.C.;, Ajanta, near Aurangabad. Fergusson & Burgess' *C.T.I.*, pl. XXIX, 5; Smith's *F.A.I.C.*, p. 102.
252. Royal couple from cave IX; Indra and Saci; 1st century B.C.; Ajanta. Griffith's *P.B.C.T.A.*, vol. I, p. 18, fig. 51.
253. Nāga chief from cave IX; 1st century B.C.; Ajanta. ibid., p. 19, fig. 54.
254. Buddhist Litany; 2nd century A.D.; Kanheri. Fergusson & Burgess' *C.T.I.* pl. LV.
255. Female fan-bearer from cave XVI; Gupta period; Ajanta. Griffith's *P.B.C.T.A.*, vol. I, p. 16, fig. 44.
256. Scene of toilet of Royal lady, cave XVII; same; Ajanta. ibid., pl. 55.
257. Mother & child; cave XVII; same; Ajanta. ibid., p. 40, fig. 76.
258. Mother & child; same; Ajanta. ibid., p. 34. fig. 71.
259. Scene from cave XVII; Ajanta. ibid., p. 14, fig. 34.
260. Apsarasas; cave XVII; Ajanta. Herringham's *A.F.*, pl. II.
261. Apsarasas, cave XVII; Ajanta. ibid., pl. II.
262. Departure of Bodhisattva; cave XVII; Ajanta. ibid, pl. VIII.
263. Scene from cave XVII; Ajanta. Griffith's *P.B.C.T.A.*, vol. I, p. 9 fig. 19.
264. Śiva dancing the Tāṇḍava; Brahmanic cave; 6th–7th century A.D.; Aihole, Bijapur District. *A.S.W.I.*, vol. V. pl. XLIII, fig. 5.
265. Padmapāṇi; Ajanta, cave I. Herringham, loc. cit, pl. XI.
266. Domestic scene; Ajanta, cave XVII. Otto Fischer, p. 197.
267. Scene from cave XVII; Verula (Ellora). *A.S.W.I.*, V, pl. XXXIII.
268. Śiva with the river Triad, Brahmanic cave; Aihole. *A.S.W.I.*, vol. V, pl. XLIII, fig. 1.
269. Padmapāṇi from Buddhist cave IV; 6th–7th century A.D.; Verula, (Ellora). *A.S.W.I.*, vol. V, pl. XVI, fig. 2.
270. Scene from Buddhist cave IV; Same. *A.S.W.I.*, vol. V, pl. XVI.
271. Scene from Buddhist cave VI; Same. Fergusson & Burgess' *C.T.I.*, pl. LXI.
272. ibid.; same. ibid., pl. LXI.

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273. Nāga Chief from cave I; 7th century A.D.; Ajanta. Griffith's *P.B.C.T.A.*, vol. I, p. 10, fig. 13.
274. Scene from cave I; same; Ajanta. Herringham's *A.F.*, pl. X.
275. Preparation of a bath; cave I; same; Ajanta. ibid., pl. XII.
276. Dance scene; cave I; Ajanta. Yazdani's *Ajanta*, Pt. I, pl. XIII.
277. Lady from cave I; Ajanta. Griffith's *P.B.C.TA.*, vol. I, p. 7 fig. 4.
278. Royal lady from cave I; Ajanta. ibid., p. 9, fig. 9.
279. Lady from Cave I; Ajanta. ibid., p. 8, fig. 6.
280. Lady from cave II; 7th century A. D; Ajanta. Griffith's *B.P.C.T.A.*, vol, I, p. 7., fig. 5.
281. Lady on a swing from Cave II; same; Ajanta. ibid., p. 30, fig. 66.
282. Some male headdresses from Ajanta; ibid., vol. I, p. 17, fig. 49.
283. Sculpture from front of the shrine; cave VII; 7th century A. D.; Aurangabad. *A.S.W.I.*, vol. III, pl. LIII.
284. Sculpture from Dumara Lena Brahmanic cave; 8th century A. D.; Verula (Ellora). *A.S.W.I.*, vol. V, pl. XXXVI, fig. 2.

SOUTHERN

285. Cakravartin from the Jaggayyapeta Stūpa; middle of the 2nd century B.C.; Jaggayyapeta. *Arch. S. of S. I.*, vol. I. pl. LV.; Bachhofer's *E.I.Sc.*, pl. 107.
286. Scene from the Jaggayyapeta Stūpa; same; same. Coomaraswamy's *H.I.I.A.*, pl. XXXIV, fig. 142.
287. Statue of a king or a Yakṣa or a cauri-bearer from Amaravati Stūpa; 1st century B.C.; Amaravati. Madras Govt. Museum.
288. Same (back view).
289. Man & boy from Amaravati Stūpa; same; same. Madras Govt. Museum.
290. A king or nobleman & his wives from Amaravati Stūpa; 1st century A.D.; same. Madras Govt. Museum.
291. Scene from Amaravati Stūpa; 1st century A.D.; same. Fergusson's *Tree & Serpent Worship*, pl. LXVIII.
292. Scene from Amaravati Stūpa; 1st or 2nd century A.D.; same. Fergusson's *Tree & Serpent Worship*, pl. XCVIII.
293. Scene from Amaravati Stūpa; same; same. ibid., pl. LXIX.
294. Scene with infant Gautama from Amaravati Stūpa; same; same. Madras Govt. Museum; Bachhofer, pl. 122.
295. Scene from Amaravati Stūpa; same; same. *A.S.S.I.*, vol. I, pl. XLIX.

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296. Female figures from Amaravati Stūpa; same; same. Fergusson's *Tree & Serpent Worship*, pl. LXXXI.
297. Scene from Amaravati Stūpa; same. Madras Govt. Museum.
298. Scene of some incident in Gautama's life from Amaravati Stūpa; same. Fergusson's *Tree & Serpent Worship*, pl. LIX.
299. Female figure from Amaravati Stūpa; same. Madras Govt. Museum.
300. King denouncing Brahmanism; Nagarjunikonda. 3rd century A.D.; *M.A.S.I.*, 54, pl. XXXI(a).
301. Scene of denunciation from Nagarjunikonda Stūpa; Nagarjunikonda. *M.A.S.I.*, 54, pl. XL.
302. Scene from Nagarjunikonda Stūpa; Same. *M.A.S.I.*, 54, pl. XXXVIII.
303. Palace scene from Nagarjunikonda Stūpa; (Ghata Jataka)? *M.A.S.I.*, 54, pl. XLVI a.
304. Śibi Jātaka; Nagarjunikonda. *M.A.S.I.*, 54, pl. XLII a.
305. Scene connected with the First Sermon in the Deer Park; Nagarjunikonda. *M.A.S.I.*, 54, pl. XXIX b.
306. Ascetic carrying a pitcher; c. 7th century A.D.; Mahabalipura, near Madras. *A.S.I.*, 1924-25, pl. XXXIII c.
307. Visnu-Anantaśāyin; Mahabalipura. Coomaraswamy, *H.I.I.A.*, pl. LXI 209.
308. Siva; Cave temple, Trichinopoly, 7th century A.D.; Smith & Codrington, pl. 89A.
309. Simhavishnu & his queens; c. 7th century A.D.; same. *M.A.S.I.* 26, pl. II.; Aravamuthan's *Portrait Sculpture in South India*, fig. 2.
310. Mahendravarman & his queens; c. 7th century A.D.; Mahabalipura, near Madras; *M.A.S.I.*, 26, pl. II.; Coomaraswamy's *H.I.I.A.*, pl. LX, fig. 204.
311. Bronze figure of Kettan Ādittan; early 12th century A.D.; Kalahasti; Aravamuthan's *Portrait Sculpture in South India*, fig. 13.
312. Veṇugopāla with Rukmiṇi & Satyabhāmā; late Calukyan, c. 12th century; Cimakurti, Guntur Dist. Madras Govt. Museum.
313. Visnu with consorts; late Cola, c. 13th or 14th century; Peruntottam, Tanjore Dist. Madras Govt. Museum.
314. Same. (back view).
315. Portrait images of Kṛṣṇa Rāya of Vijayanagar & his queens; first quarter of the 16th century A.D.; North Arcot Dist. Smith's *F.A.I.C.*, pl. 94.
316. King Tirumala Rāya & his queen; third quarter of the 16th century; Tirumalai. Aravamuthan's *Portrait Sculpture in S.I.*, fig. 23.

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RECENT AND CONTEMPORARY

NORTHERN, WESTERN and CENTRAL REGIONS

(a) Panjab

317. A village school scene (Panjab).
318. Ladies returning with produce from their fields (Panjab).
319. Gujar ladies from Kangra.
320. A peasant lady from Kulu.

} Miss. Uṣārāṇi Kanal's gift

(b) Rajasthan

321. Jat Sirdars. Watson and Kaye, *The People of India* (343).
322. Jaipur bazaar scene. 1.
323. Jaipur bazaar scene, 2.
324. Jaipur bazaar scene, 3.
325. Jaipur bazaar scene, 4.
326. Jaipur villagers.
327. Jaipur villagers.
328. Rajput lady from Udaipur.

} Dr. G. R. Pradhan's gift.

329. Marwari ladies (with a Maharastrian maid). Russell's *Tribes & Castes of the Central Provinces*, vol. II., p. 112.

(c) Saurastra & Gujarat

330. A Kathi 'durbar' (Saurastra)
331. A Kathi 'grasia' („)
332. Kunbis („)
333. Jadeja Rajputs („)
334. Kolis („)
335. Koli ladies („)
336. Koli lady carrying water (Saurastra)

} Mr. B. L. Mankad's gift.

337. A Brahmin lady — Dr. G. R. Pradhan's gift.
338. A Bania lady (Gujarat)
338a. Same (back view).

} Dr. K. M. Kapadia's gift.

(d) The United Provinces

339. A gentleman from Mathura. — Dr. G. R. Pradhan's gift.

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340. Berbers. Crooke's *Tribes & Castes of the U.P. & Oudh*, vol. IV ; p. 40.
341. Mahābrāhmaṇs, lowest class of Brahmins. ibid., vol. III, p. 402.

(e) Bihar

342. High class Brahmin from Bihar.
343. Zamindar from Bihar.
344. Middle class gentlemen from Bihar.
345. A high class lady from Bihar.

} Dr. Mrs. C. A. Hate's gift.

346. Maithila Brahmins of Northern Bihar.
347. Middle class gentlemen from Northern Bihar.

} Dr. A. J. Agarkar's gift.

348. Hindus of high rank from Western Bihar ; beginning of the 19th century, Martin's *Eastern India* vol. I, frontispiece.
349. Hindus of high rank from Central Bihar. ibid., vol. II., frontispiece.
350. Hindus of high rank from Purnea, North Eastern Bihar. ibid., vol. III frontispiece.
351. ibid. (winter dress).

EASTERN, SOUTH-CENTRAL AND WEST-CENTRAL REGIONS

(a) Bengal and Orissa

353. A Kṣatriya from Bengal. Solvyn's *Costume of Hindostan*, pl. 2.
354. A middle class gentleman from Bengal. ibid., pl. 30.
355. A Bengali lady. ibid., pl. 36.
356. A Brahmin from Orissa. Martin Hurliman's *India* (1928) p. 117.. [rights reserved by Atlantis Verlag G.M.B.H.].
357. A Brahmin from Orissa. ibid., p. 120.

(b) Maharastra

358. Traditional representation of Tukārāma. Karnatak P. Press.
359. Representation of Rāṇi Tārābāi, the founder of Kolhapur State—the *Times of India*.
360. Traditional representation of Rāṇi Lakṣmībāi. Karnatak P. Press.
351. A Wārḷi couple (one of the Hill-tribes of Maharastra). Mr. K. J. Save's gift.
362. Chāmbhār (leather workers) men & women at work. Russell's *T. & C. of C.P.*, vol. II, p. 418.
363. Māṅga musicians. ibid., vol. IV, p. 186.
364. Agri girl.
365. Sonkoḷi couple.

} Dr. D. N. Kale's gift.

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366. Nāramdeo Brahmin males (from the Central Provinces). Russell's *Tribes & Castes of the Central Provinces*, vol. II, p. 398.

SOUTHERN, SOUTH-EASTERN & SOUTH-WESTERN REGIONS

(a) Karnataka

367. Smārta Brahmin women & children. A. K. Iyer, *Mysore Tribes & Castes*, vol. II, p. 328.
368. A Devāṅga family. ibid., vol. III, p. 126.
369. A Liṅgāyat gentleman. Thurston, *Tribes & Castes of Madras*, IV, p. 247.
370. Hasalars (Hill-tribesmen with Tulu as their mother-tongue and able to speak Kannaḍa). Iyer, op. cit. vol. III, p. 296.

(b) Andhradesa

371. Representation of an Āndhra Brahmin in ceremonial dress. Dr. M. N. Srinivas's gift.
372. Panta Kāpu (farmer) male. Thurston, loc. cit., III, p. 232.
373. Representation of normal dress of middle class males } Dr. M.N. Srinivas's gift
374. Same (back view) }
375. Gamalla males & females (toddy-tappers). Thurston, loc. cit., vol. II, p. 255.
376. Representation of Brahmin female dress. }
377. ibid. (front view) } Dr. M. N. Srinivas's gift.
378. Same (side view) }
379. Representation of working class female dress. }

(c) Tamilnad or Tamilakam

380. Labour class male described as 'A Tamil coolie' in Ratzel, vol. III, p. 357.
381. Group of one sect of Srī Vaiṣṇava Brahmins. A. K. Iyer, loc. cit., vol. II, p. 502.
382. Representation of a Tāmil Brahmin. }
383. Another representation of same. }
384. Another representation of same. } Dr. M. N. Srinivas's gift.
385. Representation of an Iyer Brahmin lady. }
386. Representation of an Iyengar Brahmin lady. }
387. Representation of a Brahmin girl.
388. A Kallan lady. Madras Govt. Museum.
389. A Kadar lady (Hill-tribe woman). ibid.
390. A Kadar lady (back view). ibid.
391. Representation of a discouraged mode of wearing the female garment.

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(d) Kerala

392. Nāmbudri Brahmin gentlemen. A. K. Iyer, *Castes and Tribes of Cochin*, vol. II. p. 185.
393. Nāmbudri Brahmin ladies. ibid., p. 189.
394. Nāyar ladies. Thurston, loc. cit., vol. V, p. 312.
395. A Nāyar lady (front view). Madras Govt. Museum.
396. Same (back view). ibid.
397. A Toda lady (Hill-tribe woman). Madras Govt. Museum.
398. Same (back view). ibid.

399 (1-39): Head-dress

(1) Sindh: (2-12): Rajasthan & Central India.
(13-22): Saurastra & Gujarat. Mr. B. L. Mankad's gift;
(23-39): Maharastra. *The Gazetteer of Bombay City;*
(23). Cap worn by Sonkolis of Bombay;
(24). 'Pheṭa' or 'Rumāla' worn in the Konkan & sporadically elsewhere in Maharastra;
(25-31) } Marāṭha turbans;
(33-36) }
(32). Māḷi turban;
(37). Pāṭhāre Prabhu turban;
(38-39): Brahmin & other high caste turbans;

Trends in Costume

400. Students' Federation Conference, General
401. S. F. C., Andhra contingent.
402. S. F. C., Bengal contingent.
403. S. F. C., Cochin contingent.
404. S. F. C., U. P. contingent.
405. S. F. C. session with Sarojini Naidu, the president in the Centre.

} Dr. A. R. Desai's gift.

406. Mahatma Gandhi, Kasturba Gandhi, Ravindranath Tagore and female inmates of the Visvabharati.
407. His Excellency the Governor-General Cakravati Rajagopalachari at Madras.
408. ibid.
409-412 'Charming Sari-blouses & new cholees', 1940. (The *Illustrated Weekly of India*, May 5, 1940).

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1. Mural Painting in the Rock Shelter of Cogul, Lerida, Spain.

2. Queen Napir-asu, Susa.

3. Elamite feminine costume.

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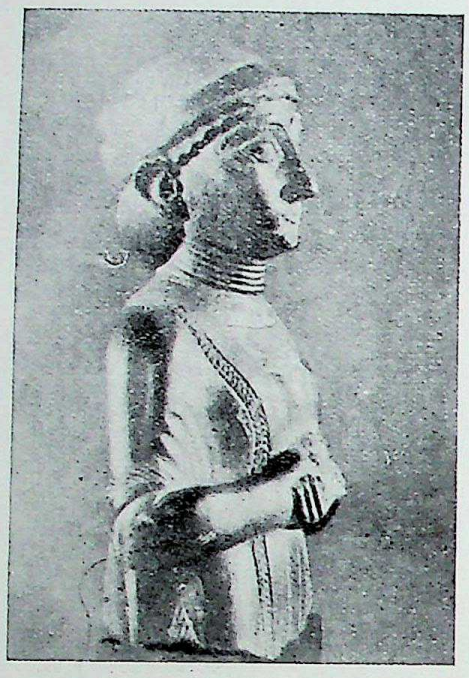
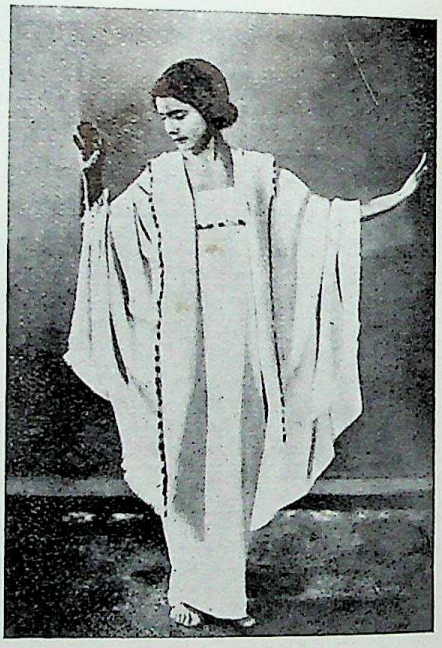


4. Female of the epoch of Gudea.



5. Sumerian female Costume as it would appear on the living.

6. Queen of Assurbanipal.

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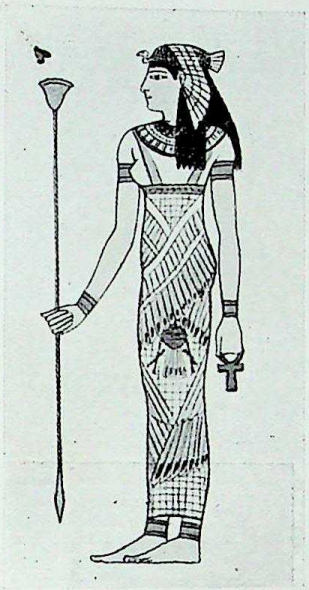
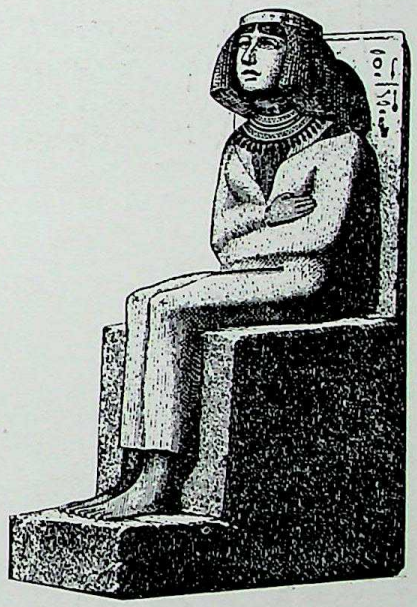


7. Egyptian female dress of the Old Empire.



8. Egyptian female of the Old Empire in a cloak.

9. Egyptian female of the New Empire.

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10. Egyptian female of the end of XVIII Dynasty.

11. Egyptian priestess.

12. Reconstructed costume of a Greek female.

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13. Greek woman of the people.

14. An Athenian woman of fashion.

15. Doric female.

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16. Female garments worn in Greece & Rome.

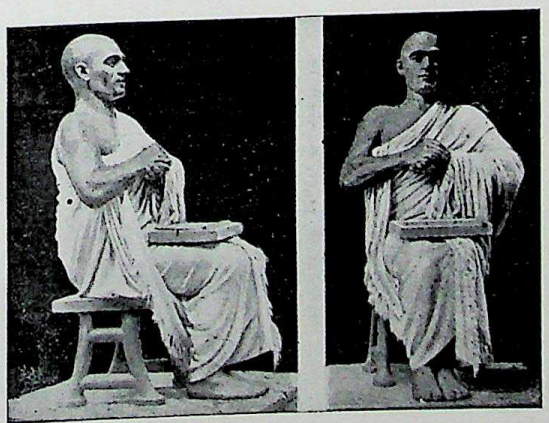
17. Greco-Roman statue of Isis.

18. Roman-Etruscan women.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

19. Roman mourning woman.

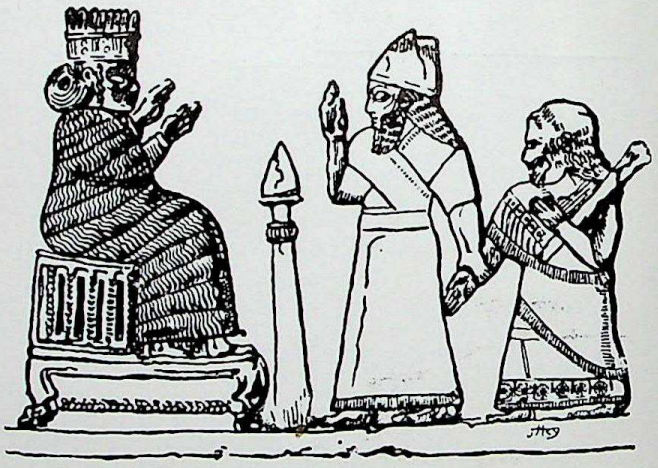
20. Semitic king Naramsin in reconstructed attire.



21. Sumerian shawl drapery (male).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

22. Statue of Pouzour-Ishtar



23. Babylonian costume.

24. Assyrian costume.

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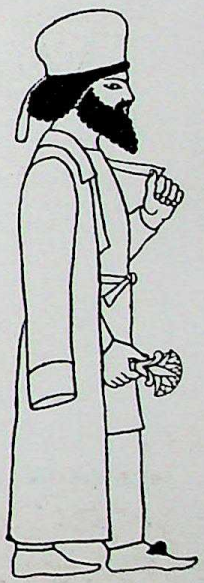
25. Persian king, Darius.



26. Persian dress.

27. Egyptian archaic Royal costume.

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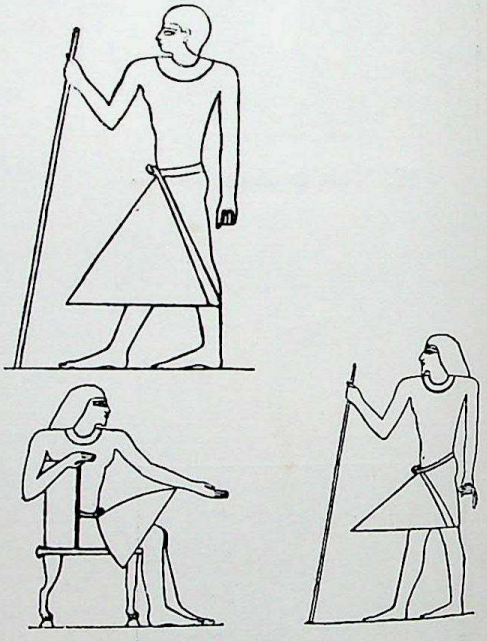
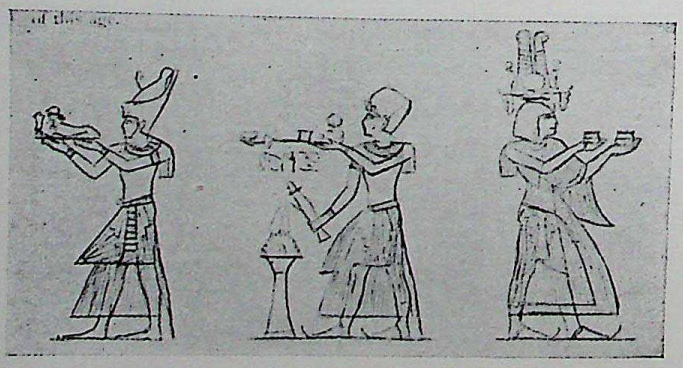
28. Royal costume of Egypt, Old Empire.

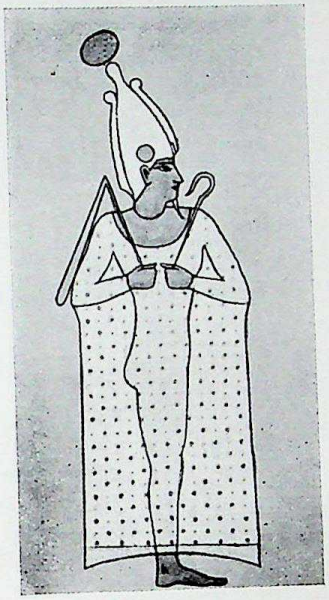


29. Ordinary Egyptian male dress.

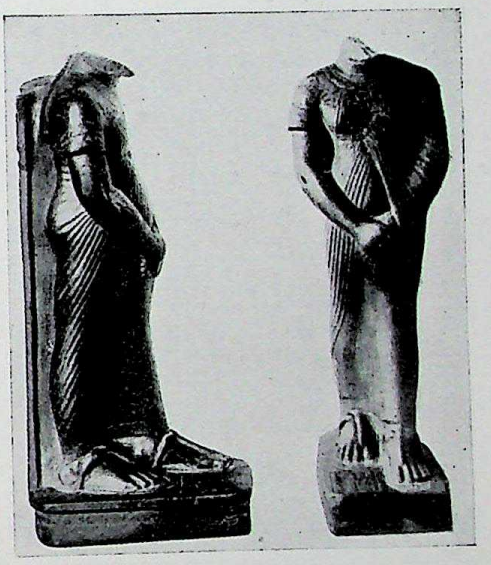


30. Royal costume of Egypt, New Empire.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



31. Old Egyptian male dress.



32. Statue of Amenophis III.

33. Egyptian males.

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34. Bronze Statue of Apollo.

35. Greek philosopher.

36. Greek ordinary male attire.

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37. Female figures from Hadda, Afghanistan.

38. Bodhisattva head.

39. Royal female.

40. Woman & Tree from Yusafzai.

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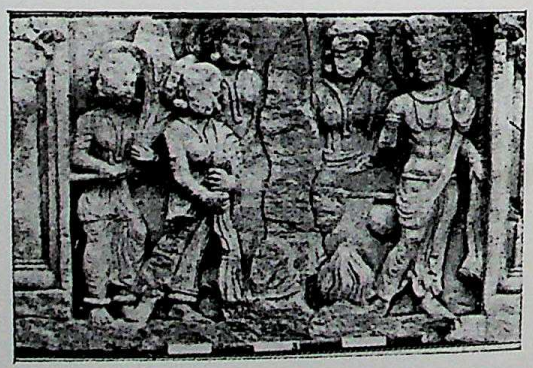
41. Garuda & Nagini.

42. Hariti, consort of Kubera.



43. Marriage of Bodhisattva.

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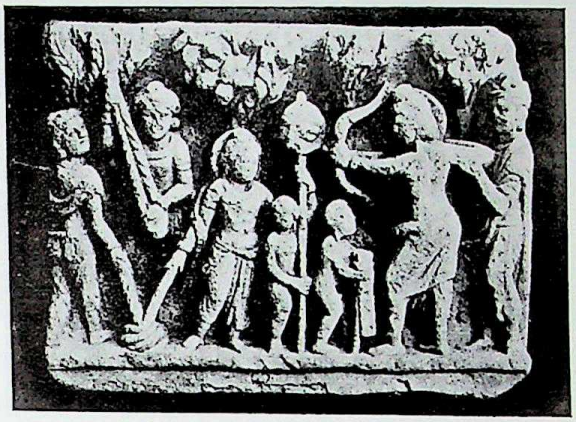


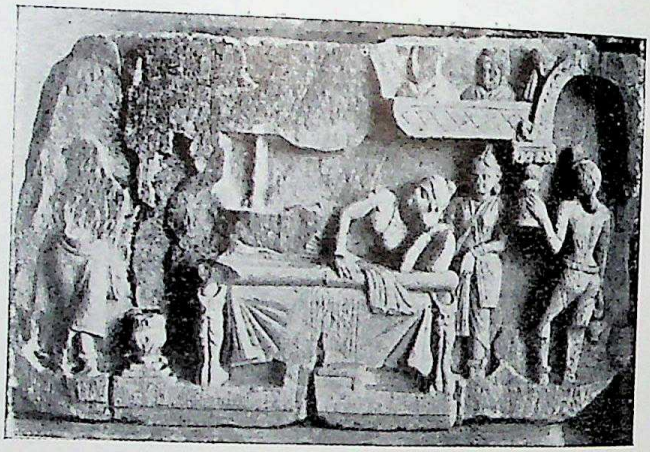
44. Archery scene, Peshawar.

45. Statuette of donatrix.

46. Kubera, Peshawar.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

47. Male figure, Taxila.



48. Dream of Queen Maya.

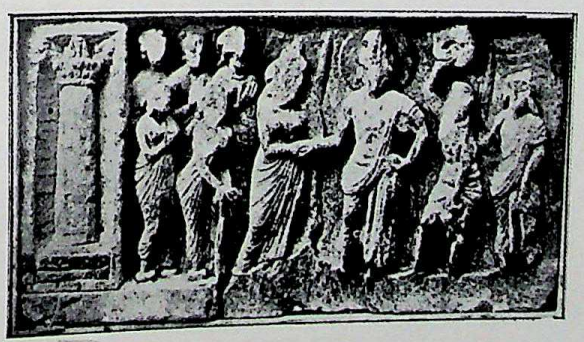
49. Archery scene, Taxila.

50. Adoration.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

51. Brahmin ascetic.

52. Female figurine.



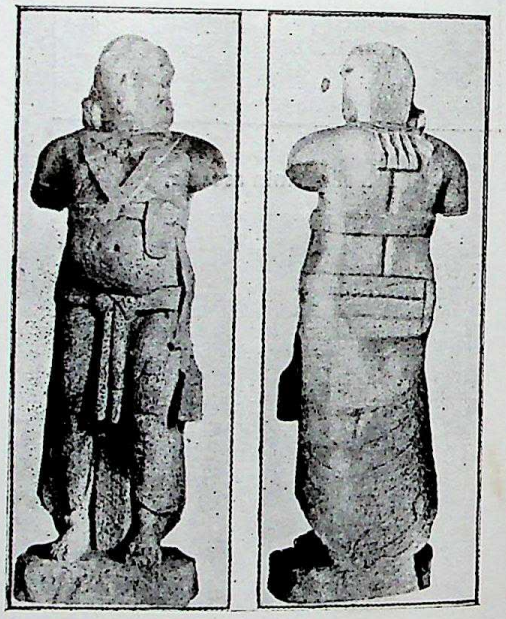
53. Marriage of Bodhisattva.

54. Headless male figure.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

55. Engraving on a brass 'lota'.

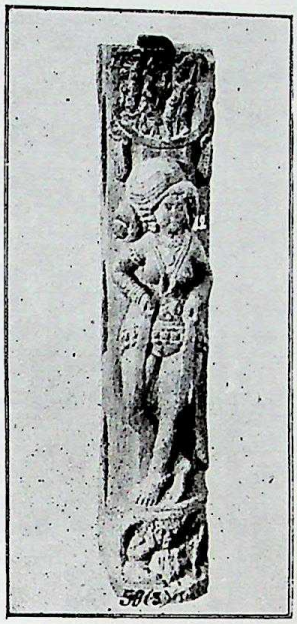
56. Female figure on a glazed earthernware tile.



57. Colossal figure of Yaksa.

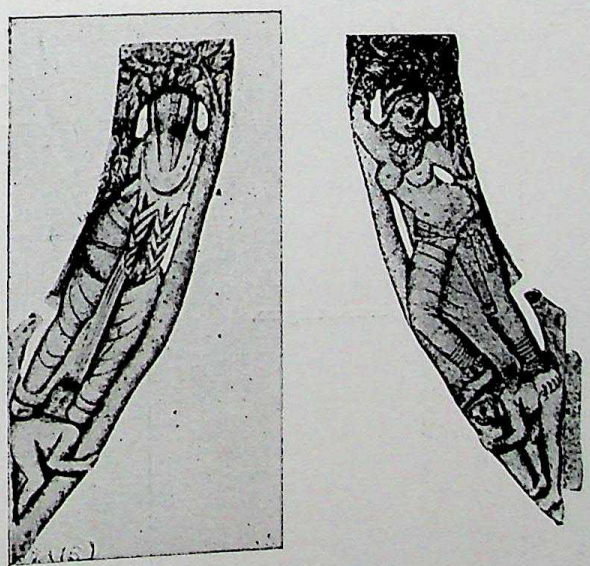
58. Balarama.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



59. Dancing female on a railing pillar.

60. Figure of a belle.



61. Bracket figure from Torana beam.

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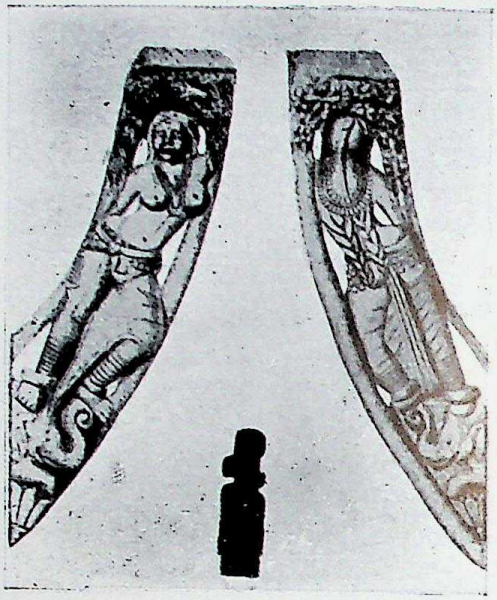
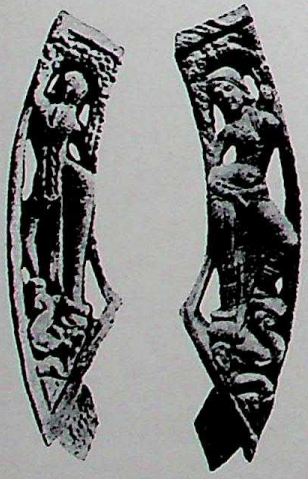


62. Bracket figure.

63. Bracket figure.



64. Same, front & back views.

65. Man & woman worshipping.

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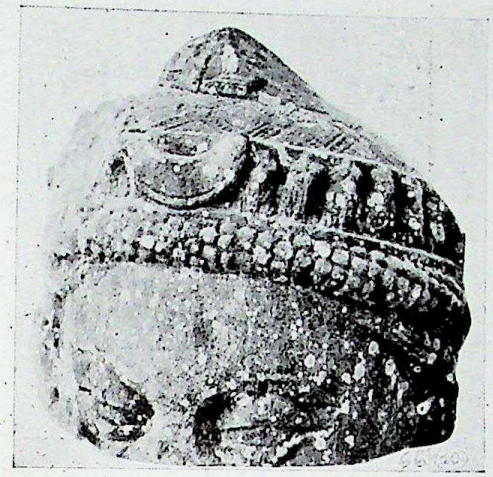

66. Fragmentary male head.

67. Figure of a king from Torana pillar.

68. Couple from Torana pillar.

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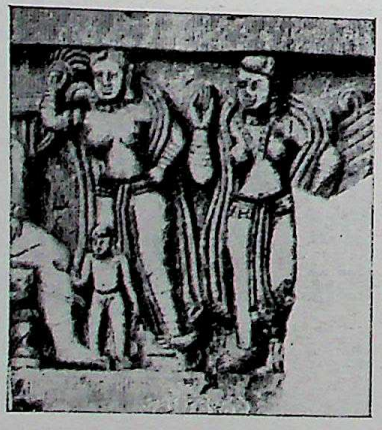
69. Yaksi.

70. Female figure, Mathura.

71. Female figure, Mathura.



72. Ladies from Mathura.

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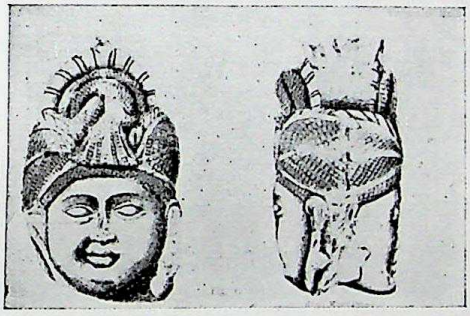
73. Dance scene.

74. Statue of a dwarf.



75. Head from Mathura.

76. Headless figure of a high personage.

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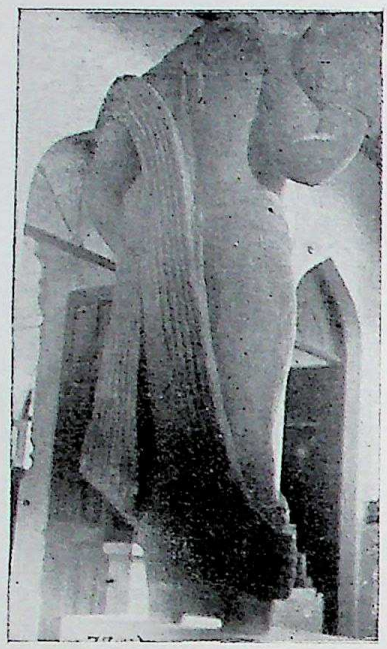
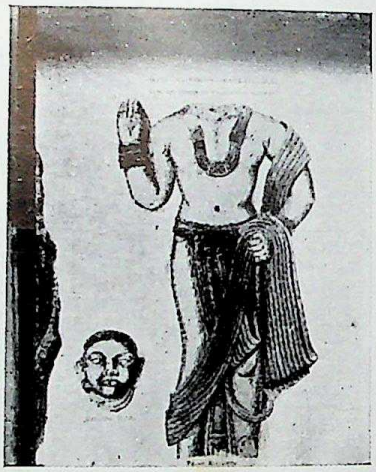
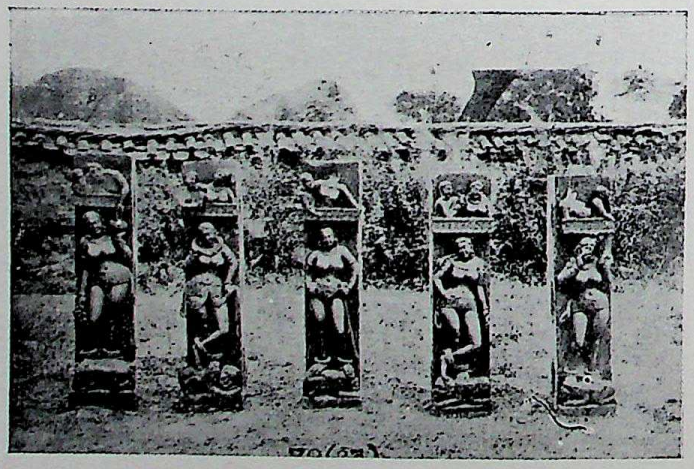


77. Headless figure of a high personage (back view).



78. Ditto (front view).



79. Female figures from a balustrade from Bhutesar.

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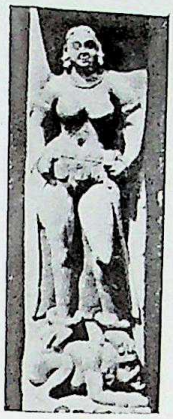
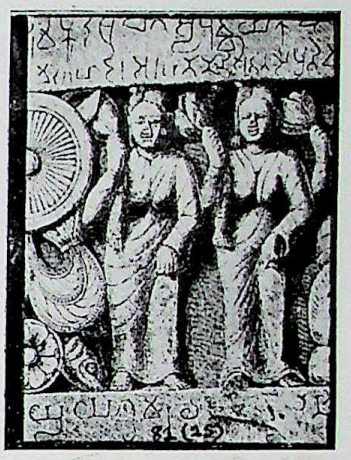


80. Central figure from pic. 79.



81. Women worshippers of Jina.

82. Couple from Amin.

83. Coin of Wima Kadphises.

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84. Siva on a Kusana coin.

85. Goddess Nanaia, Vasudeva's coin.

86. Headless statue of king Kaniska.

87. Headless statue of a king.

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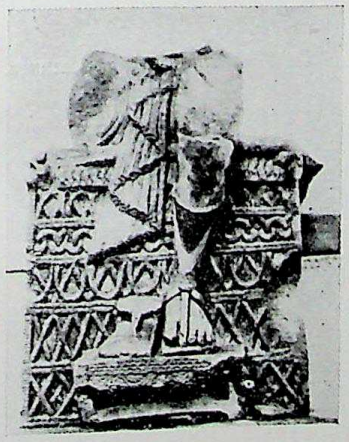
88. Statue of a Kusana king.

89. Greco-Buddhistic image of Hariti (front & back views).



90. Lower part of a male statue.

91. Males in northern dress.

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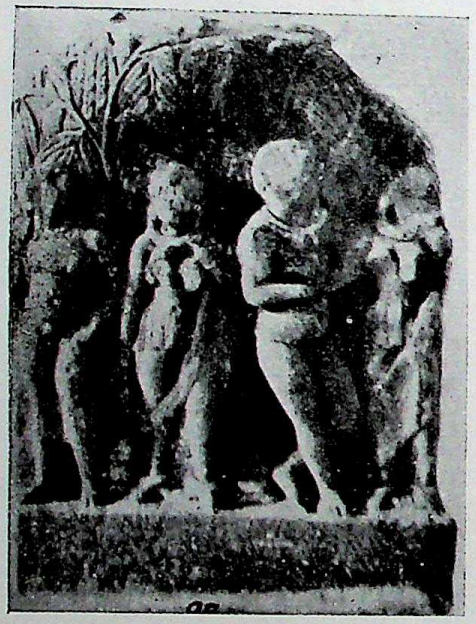
92. Bacchanalian group.



93. Bacchanalian group, Mathura.

94. Lingam, Mathura.

95. Milkmaid.

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96. A Female dignitary.

97. Relief of Siva and Parvati.

98. A rustic couple.

99. A female figurine.

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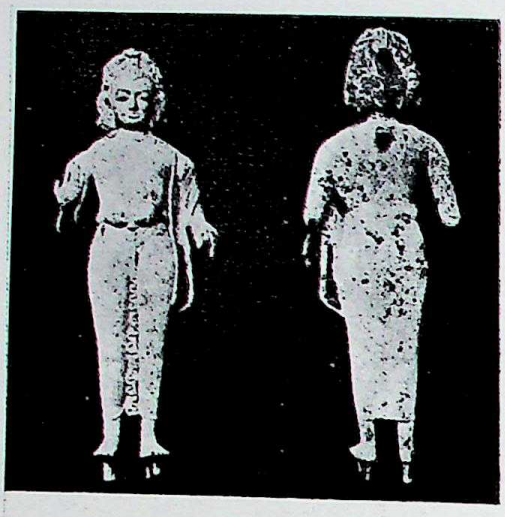
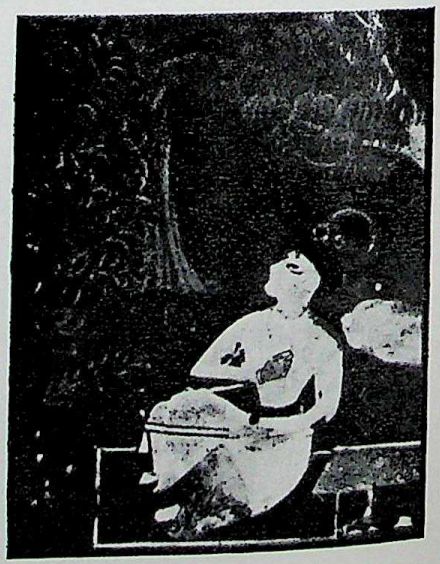


100. Bronze figure of Brahma.

101. Statue of a chief.

102. Radha and her friends.



103. Krsna expecting Radha.

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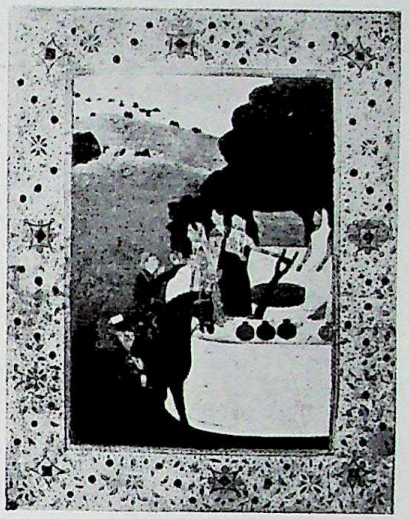
104. Rajasthani Painting.



105. Akbar at a well.

106. Krsna & Sudama.

107. Baba Maluka Das & his nephew.

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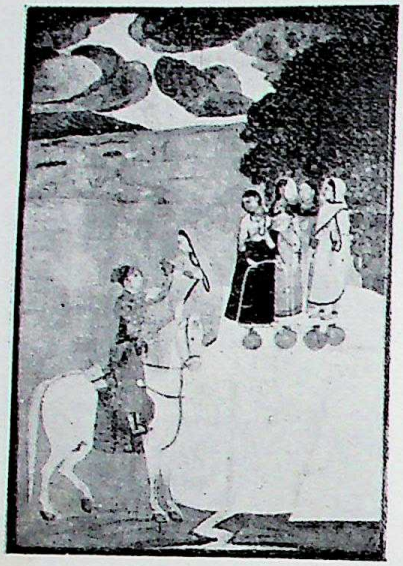
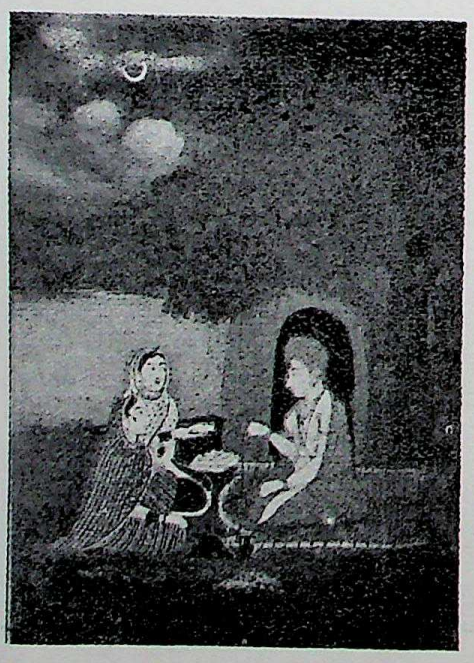
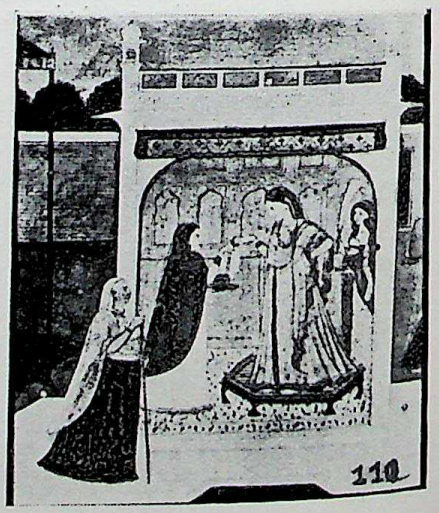


108. At the well.

109. Lovers on a terrace.



110. Women visiting a Hermit.



111. Pahari painting.

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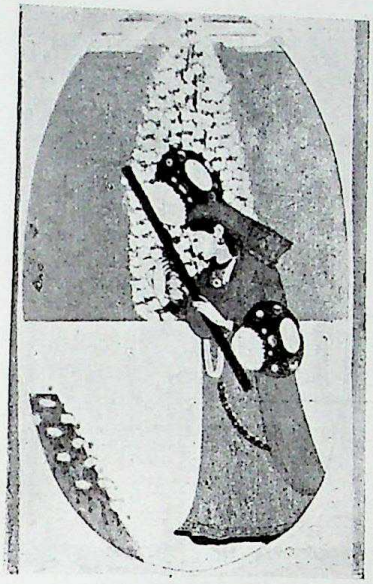
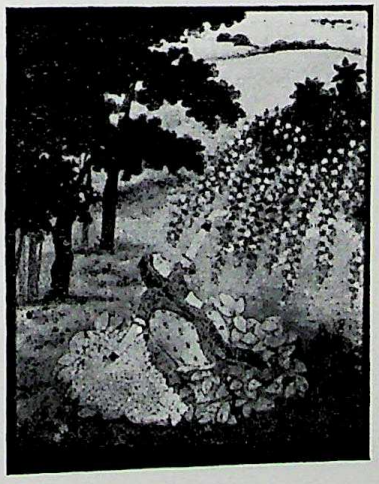


112. Gunagarvita

113. Padmavati.



114. The couch of love.

115. The Rape of Yadava Women.

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116. Dana-Lila.

117. A lady.

118. Pig-sticking.

119. Teaching of grammar of Hemacandra.

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120. Brahma-Santi Yaksa.

121. Sarada.

122. Sakra disguised as a Brahmin.

123. Sakra in his own form.

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124. Brahmins.

125. Part of marriage scene.

126. Scene from Vasanta Vilasa.

127. Lady from Vasanta Vilasa.

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128. A lady.

129. Painting from Balakrishnakridakavya.

130. Painting from Gitagovinda ms.

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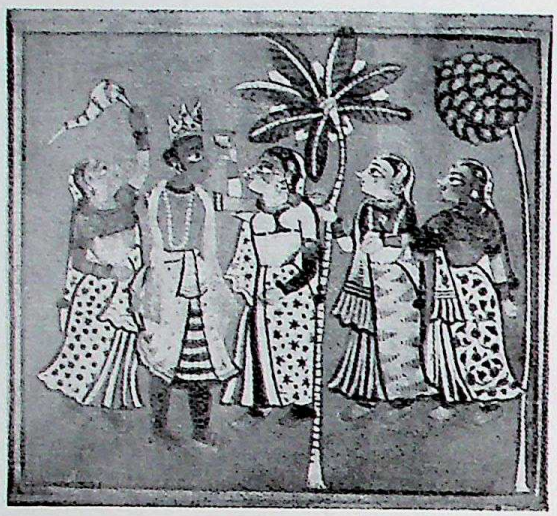
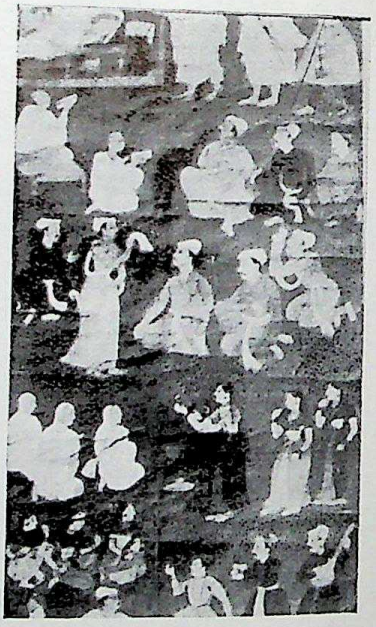


131. Painting from Balagopalastuti.



132. Scene in connection with an imperial 'firman'.

133. A Yaksa female.

134. Same.

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135. A Yaksa female.

136. Male head.

137. Kubera.

138. Suciloma Yaksa.

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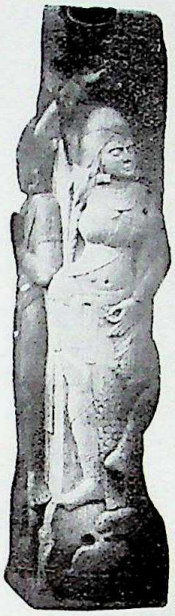
139. Ganagita Yaksa.

140. Cakavaka, the king of Nagas.

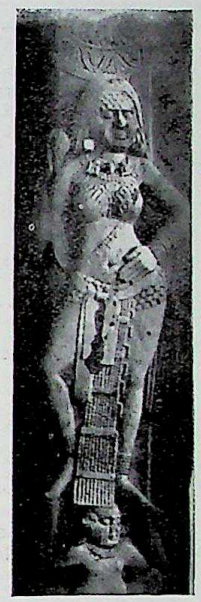
141. Warrior.

142. Sudarsana Yaksi.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



143. Canda Yaksi.

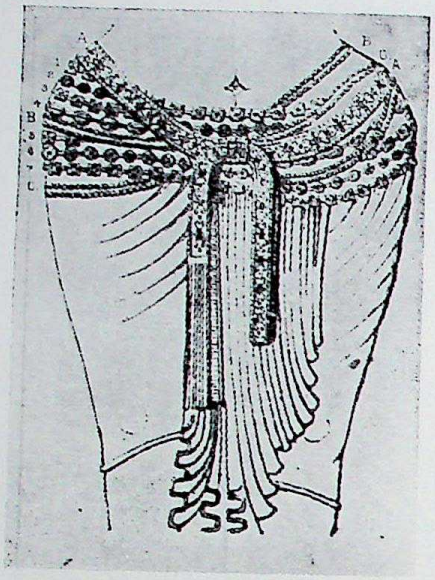


144. Yaksi.

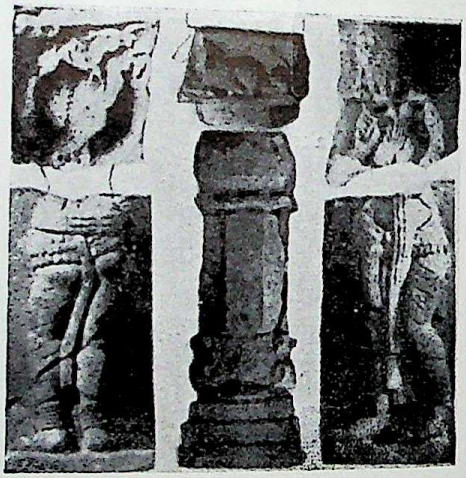
145. Culakoka Devata.

146. Sirima Devata.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



147. Drawing of the girdle & lower dress of Sirima Devata.

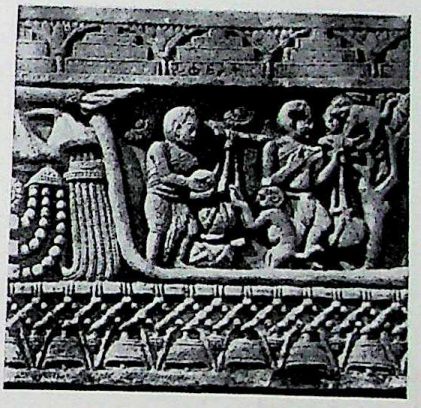


148. Remains of 'torana'.

149. Female figure.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

150. Couple, from Gateway Pillar.

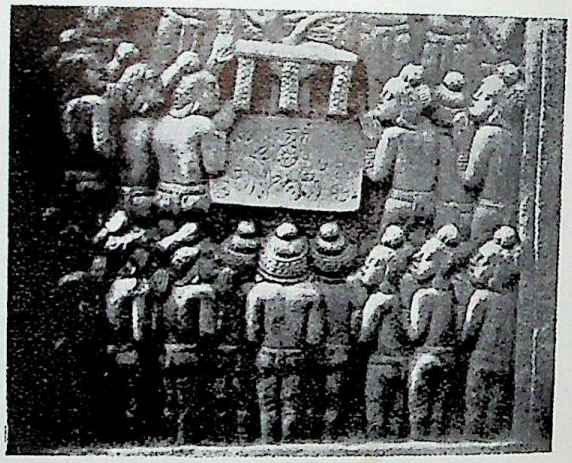


151. Scene from coping.

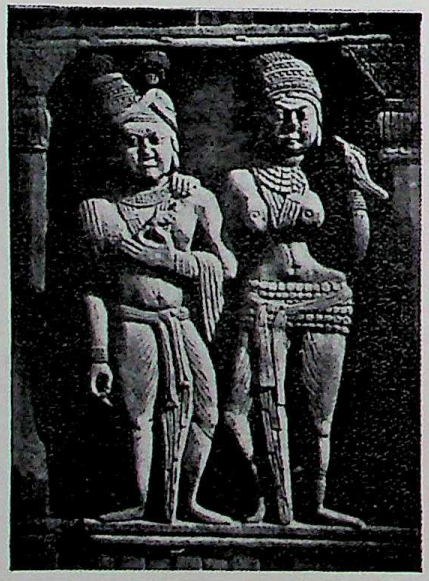
152. Same.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

153. Scene from coping.

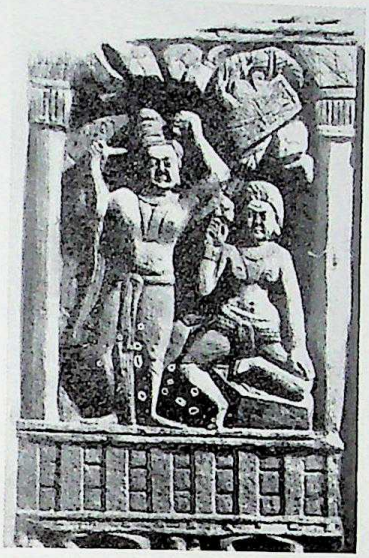


154. Scene from Ajatasatru pillar.

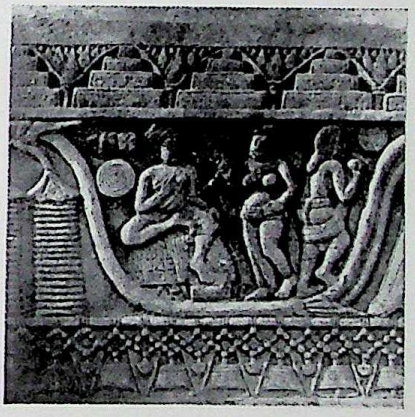


155. Figures from Prasenajit pillar.

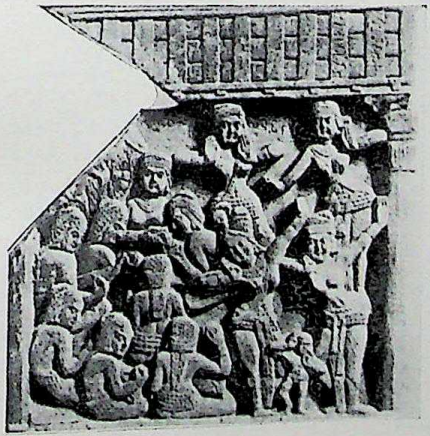
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



156. Scene from Bharhut.

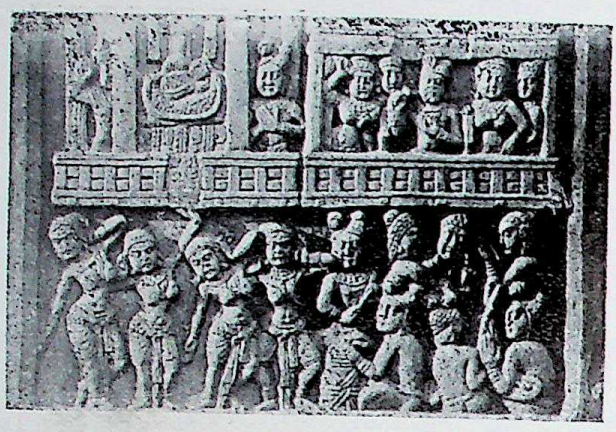


157. Scene from coping.



158. Scene from Bharhut Stupa.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



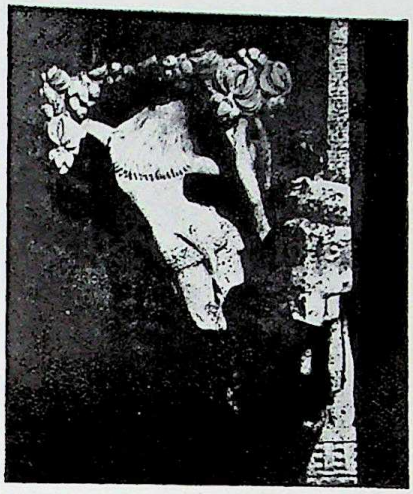
159. Scene of Devadhamma 'sabha'.

160. Mayadevi's dream.

161. Female figure.

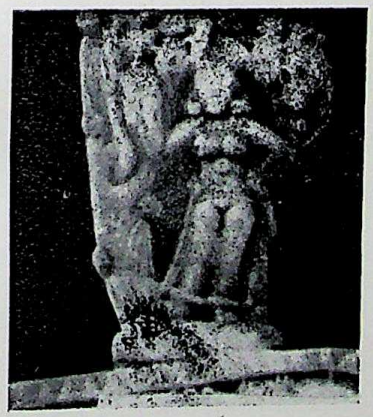
162. Female figure.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



163. Female bracket figure.

164. Female bracket figure.

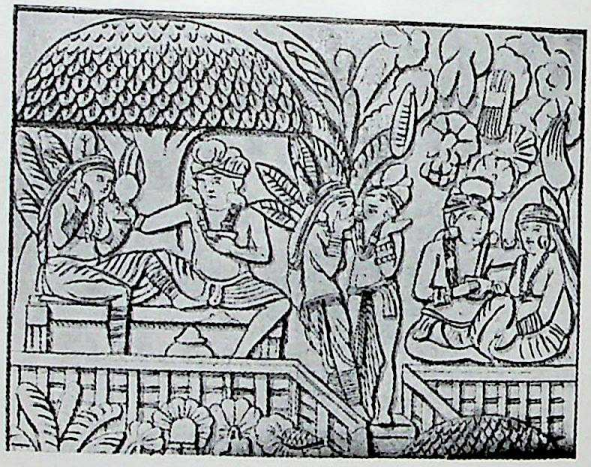


165. Female bracket figure.

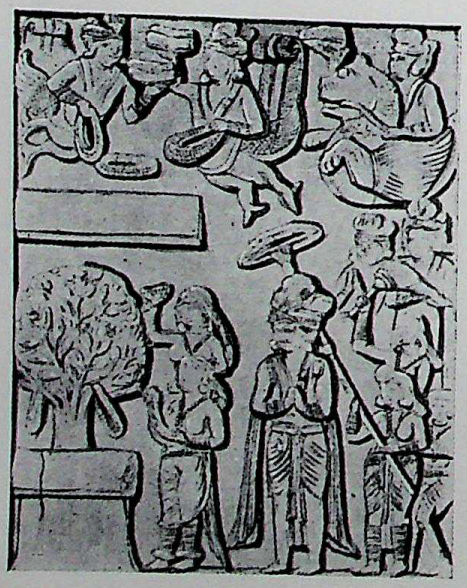
166. Female head.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

167. Scene of Bodhi-tree worship.



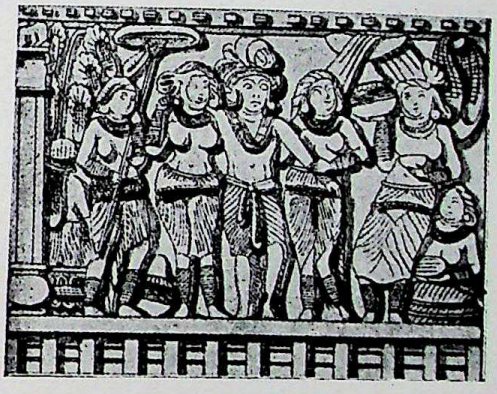
168. Garden scene.



169. Scene of Bodhi-tree worship.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

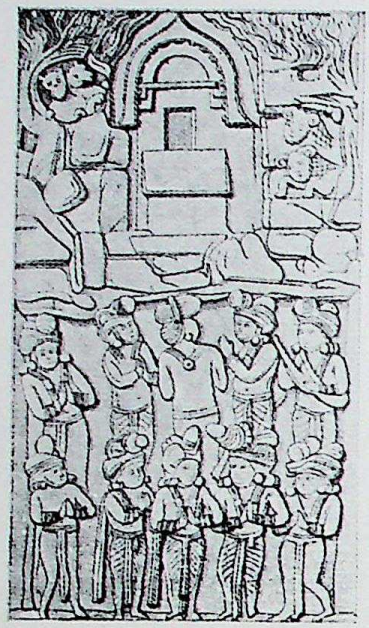
170. Scene from Sanci Stupa.



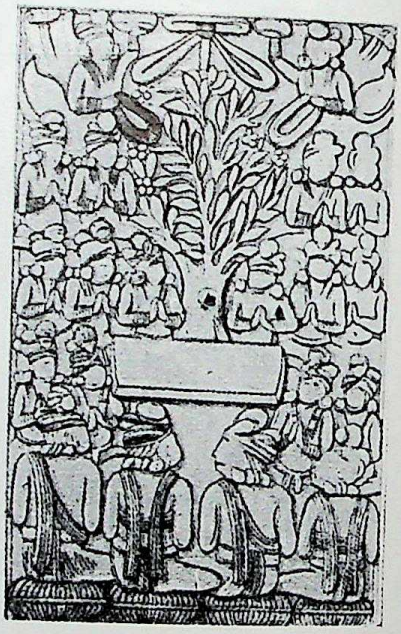
171. Scene of Royal couple.

172. Scene from south gateway, Sanci.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



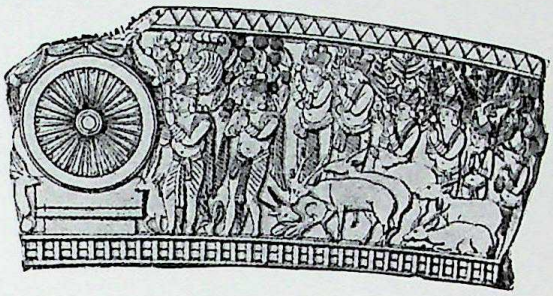
173. Worship scene from Sanci.



174. Scene of Bodhi-tree worship.

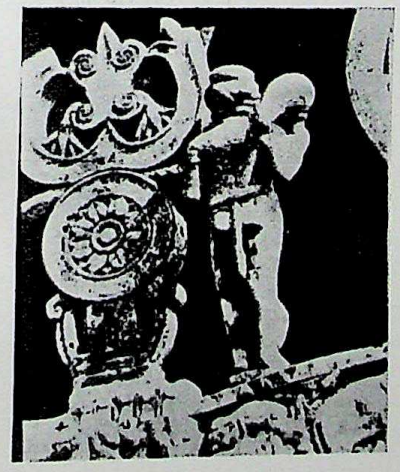
175. Scene of Bodhi-tree worship.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



176. Worship of Dhammacakka.

177. Male cauri-bearer.



178. Cauri-bearer.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

179. Male figure.

180. Female figurine.

181. Figure of Yaksa.

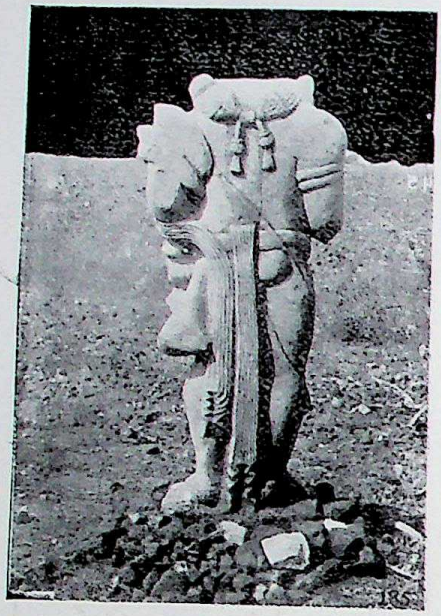
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

182. Headless female figure.

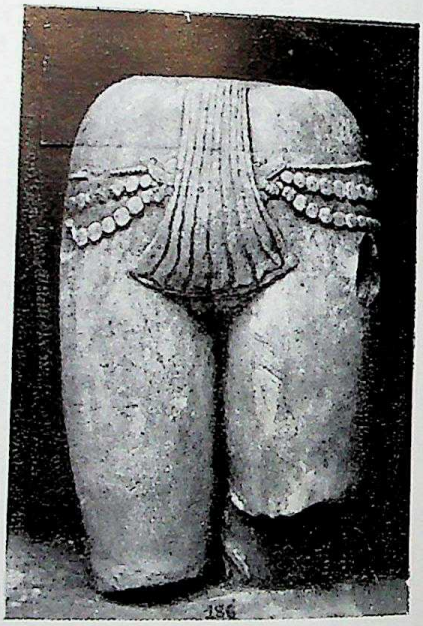
183. Female head.

184. Yaksa Manibhadra.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



185. Yaksa Manibhadra (back view).



186. A girdled waist of a woman.

187. Scene from Bagh caves.

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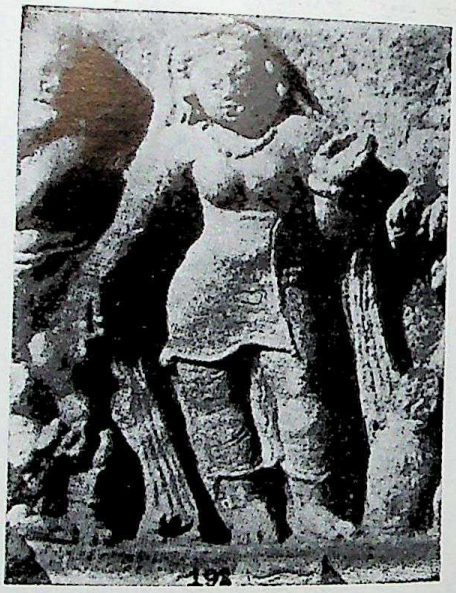
188. Dance scene from Bagh caves.

189. Fifth scene from Bagh.

190. Male head.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

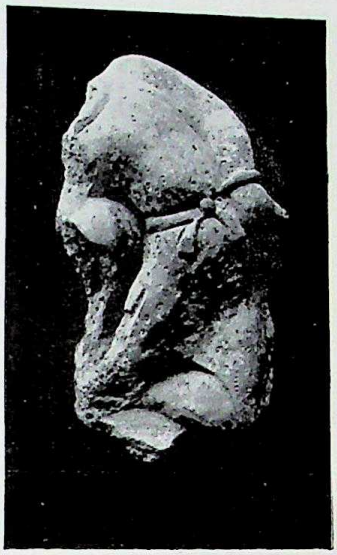
191. Female cauri-bearer.



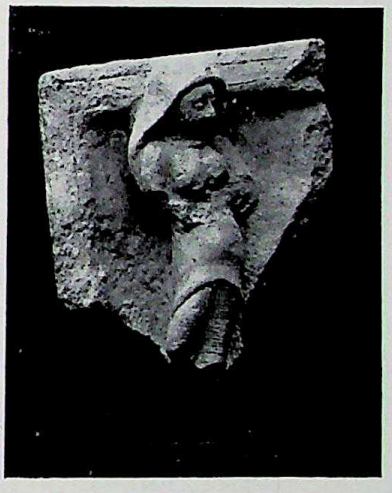
192. The dancing girls.

193. Same.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



194. Dancing male figure.



195. Female figure.

196. Image of Siva-Parvati.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

197. Avalokiteswara.

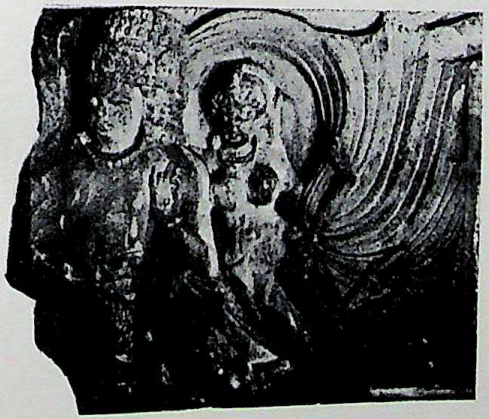
198. Image of Tara.

199. Ganga.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

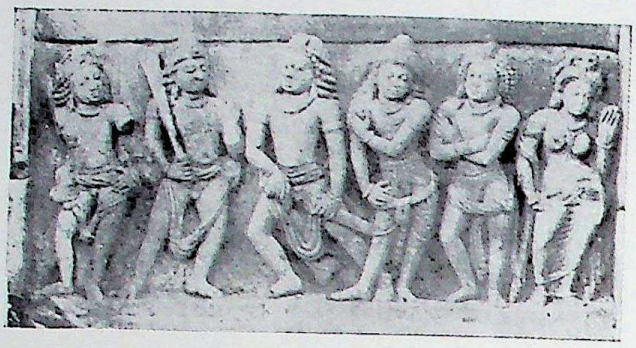
200. Female figure.

201. Female figure.

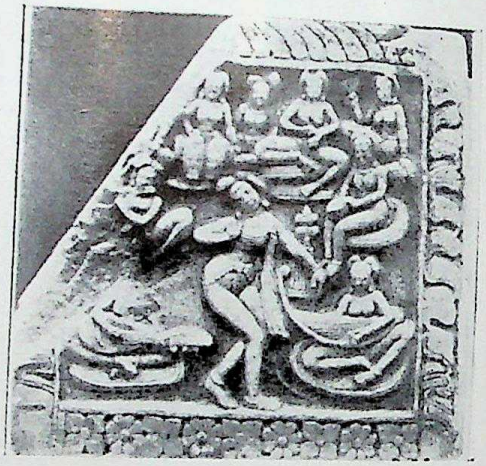


202. Gandharva couple.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh



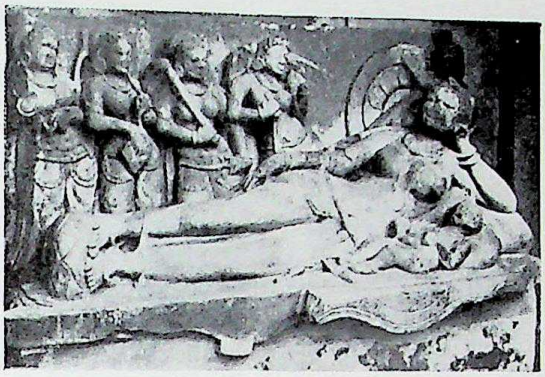
203. Relief sculpture from a temple.



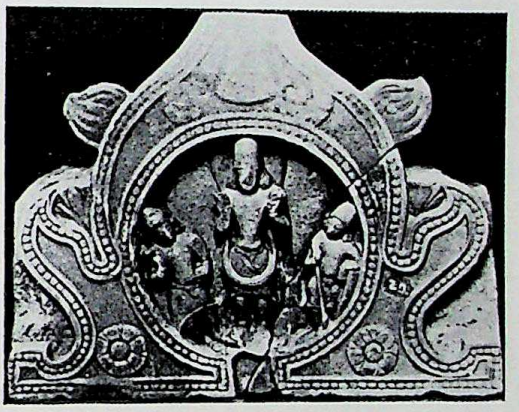
204. Janapada dance scene from Pawaya.

205. Yasoda & Nanda.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



206. Nativity of Krsna.



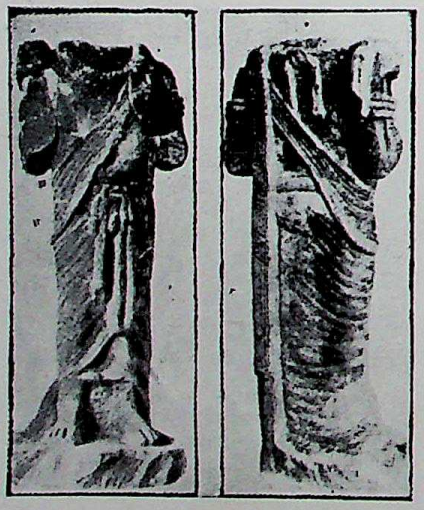
207. Sun God.

208. Indrani.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

209. Apsaras.

210. Group of ladies.



211. Yaksa or male cauri-bearer.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

212. Same.

213. Female cauri-bearer.

214. Same.

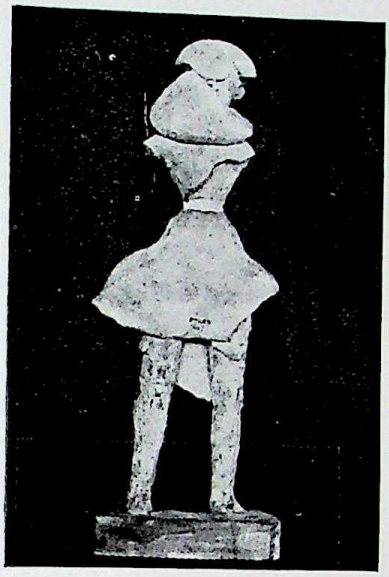
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

215. Female figurine.

216. Same.

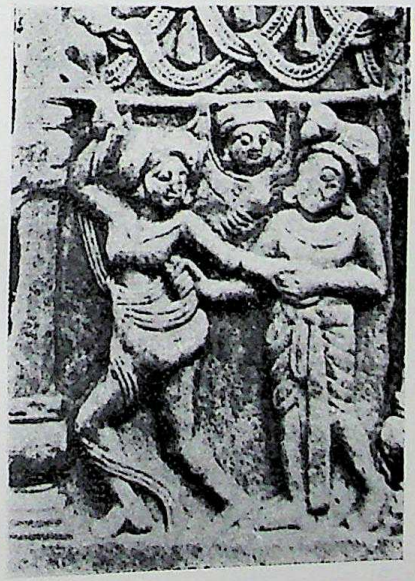
217. Female figurine.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



218. Female figurine (back view).

219. Female figurine.



220. Erotic scene.

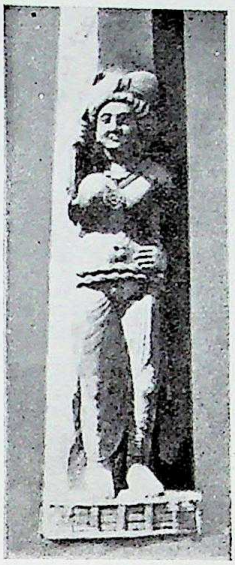
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

221. Couple.

222. Standing female.

223. Indra.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



224. Female.

225. Female figure.

226. Boy's head.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

227. Candragupta I and his queen Kumaradevi.

228. Goddess Laksmi.

229. Goddess Laksmi.

230. King.

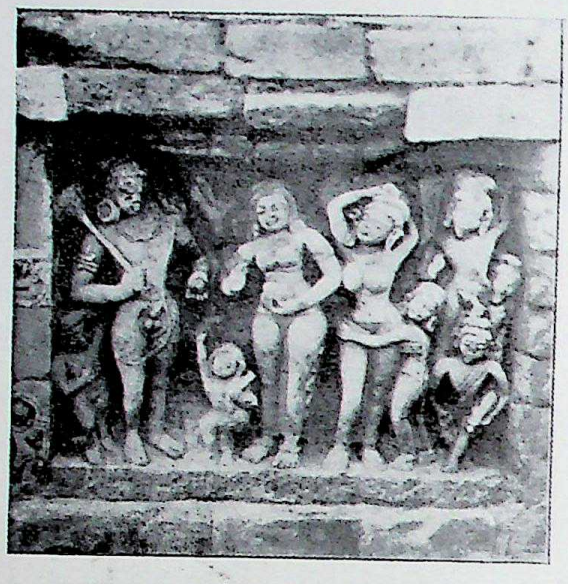
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

231. Relief of Nagini.

232. Relief of Ganga.

233. Statuette from Nalanda.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

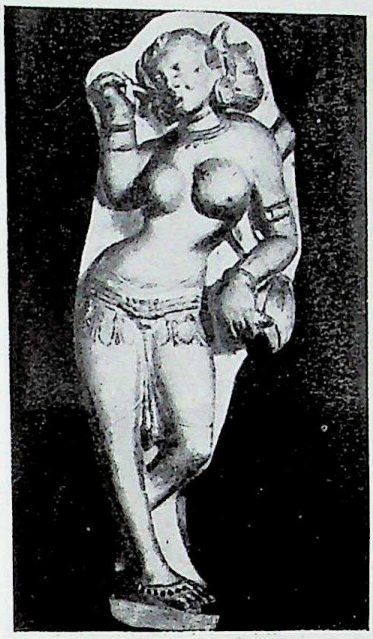


234. Sculpture from Paharpur.

235. Ganga.

236. Sculptures from Khiching.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



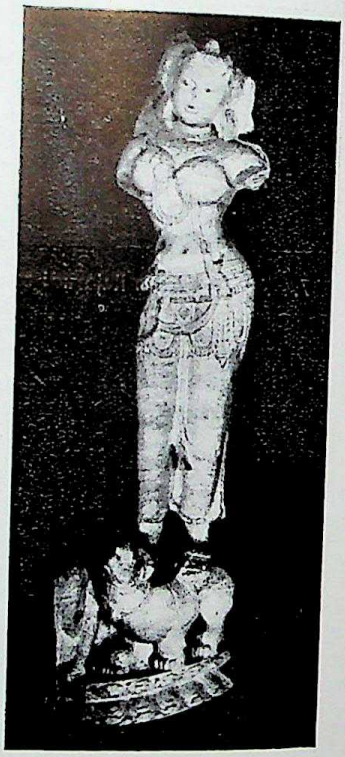
237. Apsaras from Rajarani temple.

238. Lower part of a female figure.

239. Marriage of Siva.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

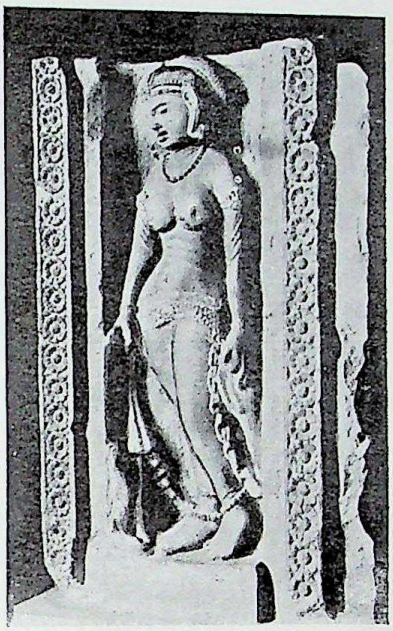
240. Reclining female with a child.



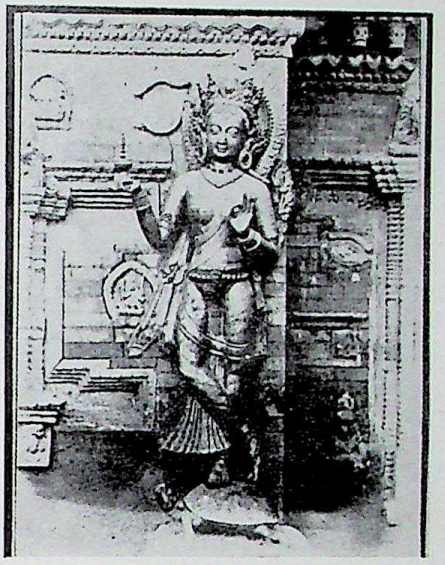
241. Ganga.

242. Horse & man.

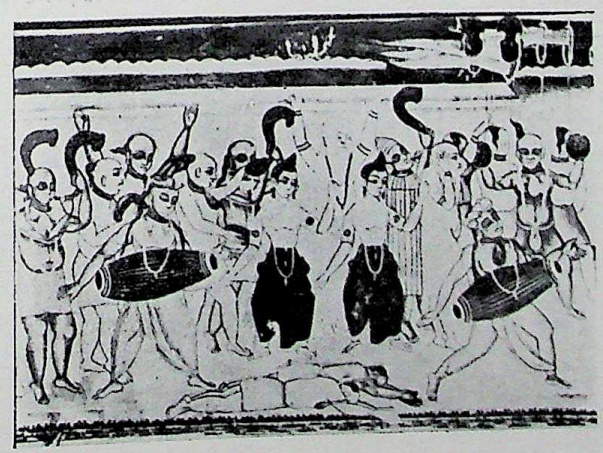
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



243. Female attendant.

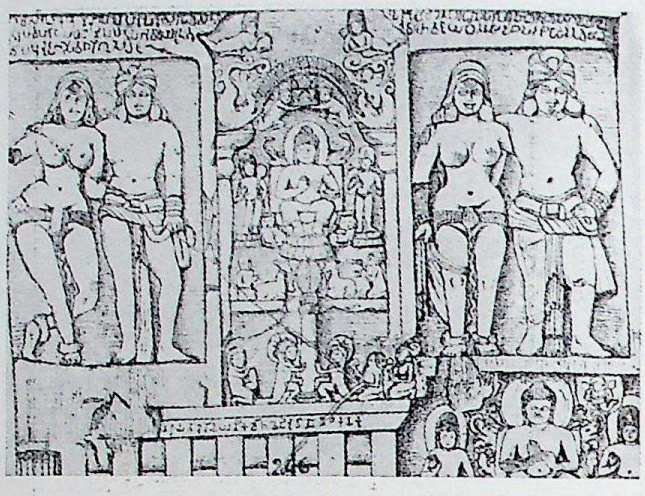


245. Figure of Laksmi.

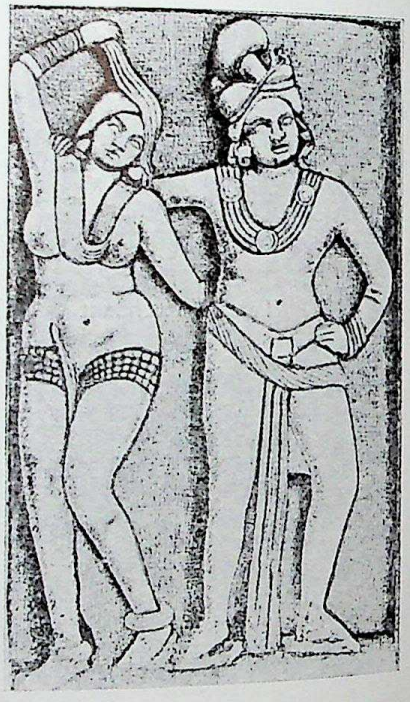


244. Religious procession.

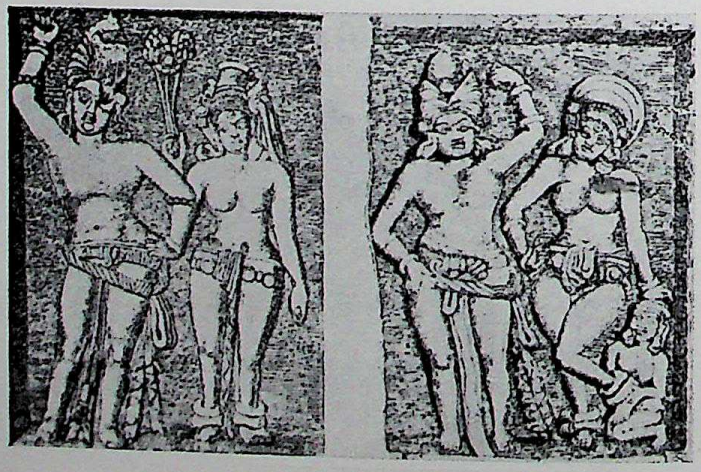
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



246 Donors of the Caitya cave.

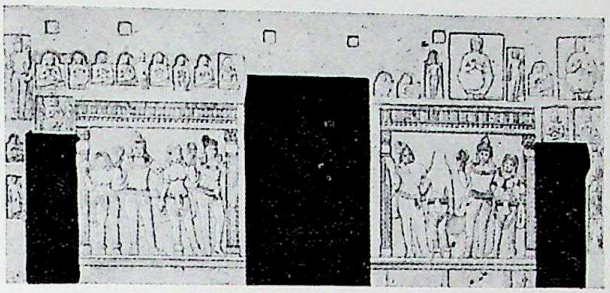


247. Sculpture in the Caitya cave.

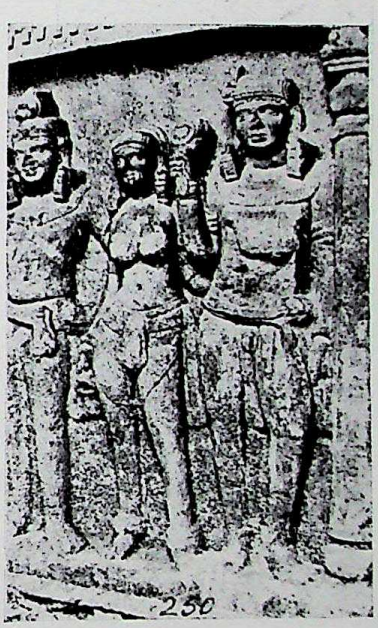


248. Figures in cave VI.

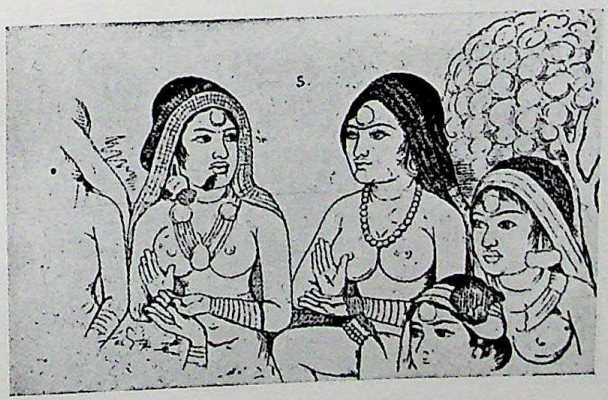
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



249. Figures of donors (Caitya cave).

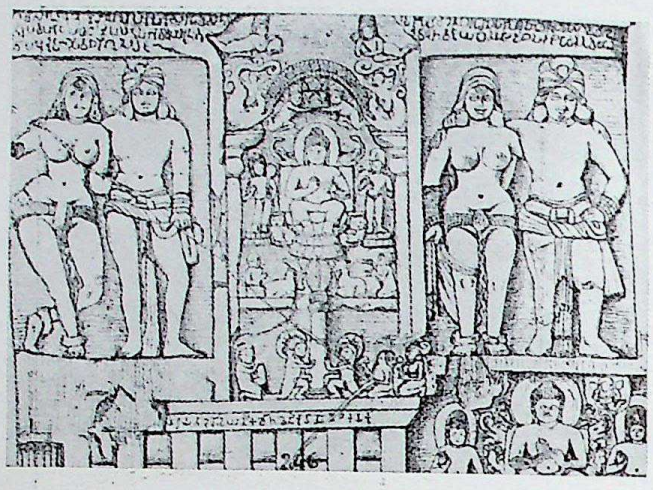


250. Same.

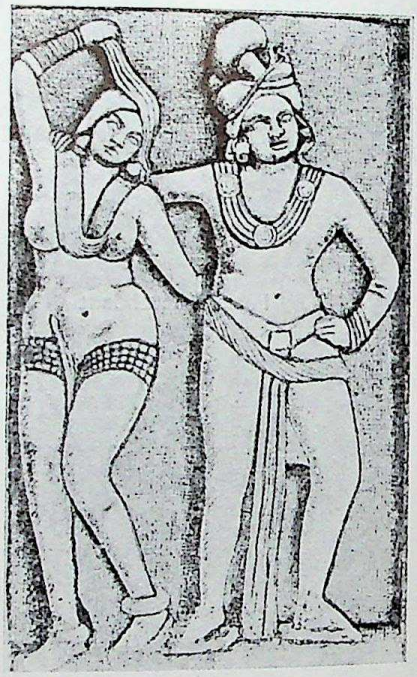


251. Female figures.

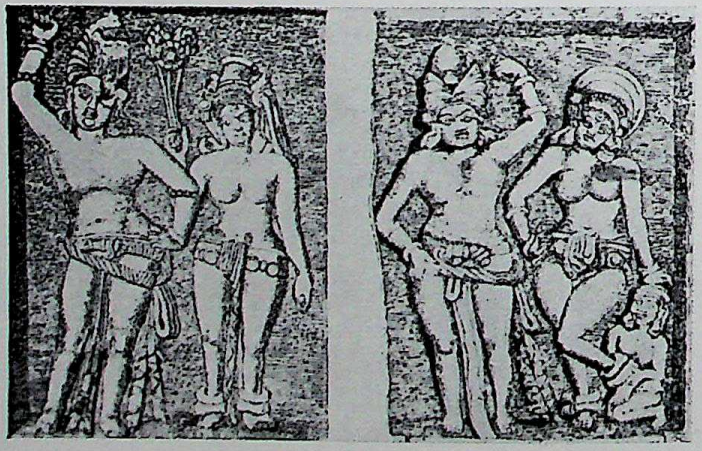
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



246 Donors of the Caitya cave.



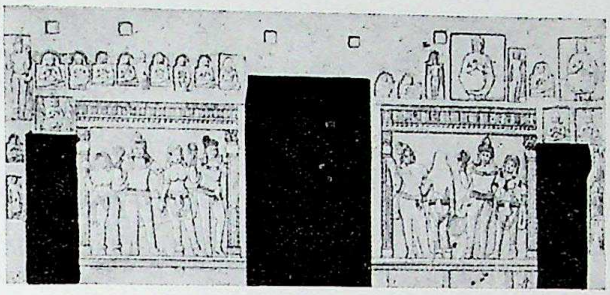
247. Sculpture in the Caitya cave.



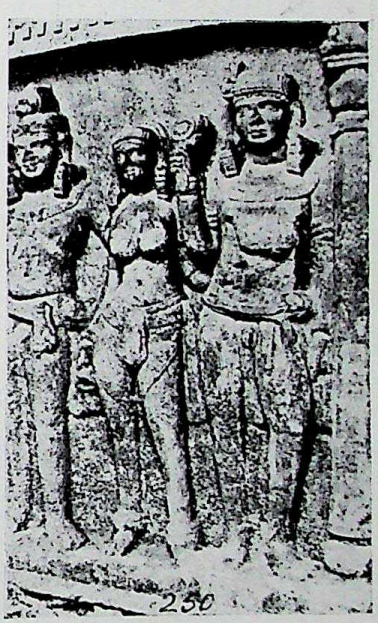
248. Figures in cave VI.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

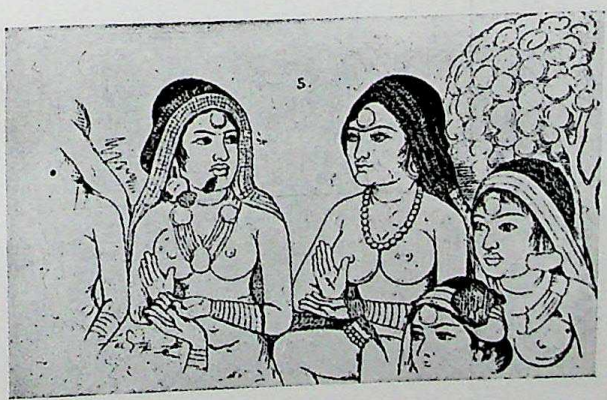
(249—251)



249. Figures of donors (Caitya cave).



250. Same.

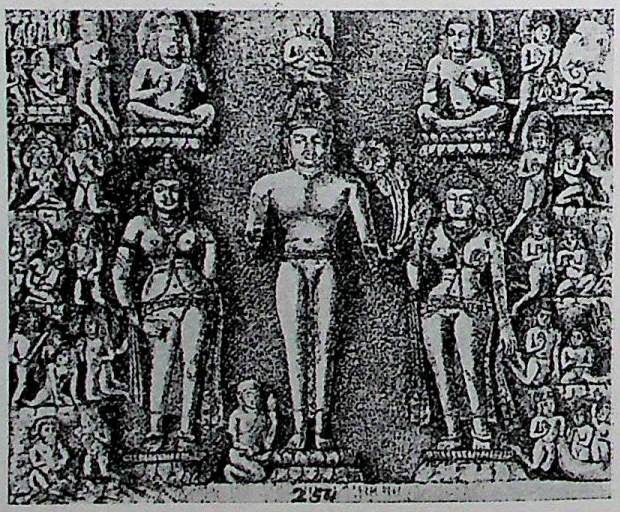


251. Female figures.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

252. Royal couple.

253. Naga chief.



254. Buddhist Litany.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

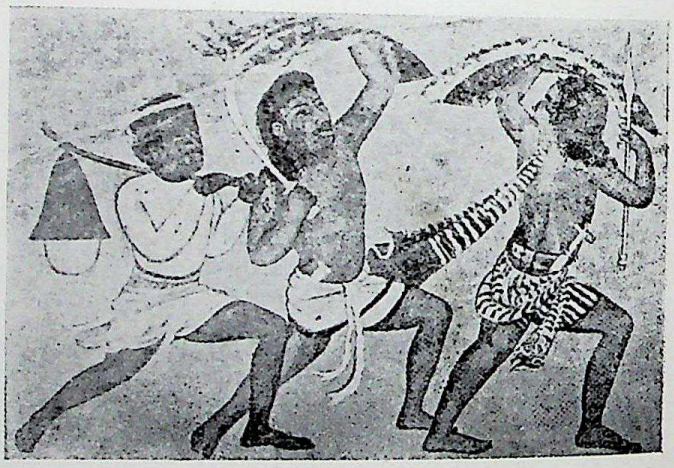
255. Female fan-bearer.

256. Scene of toilet of Royal lady.

257. Mother & Child.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

258. Mother & child.

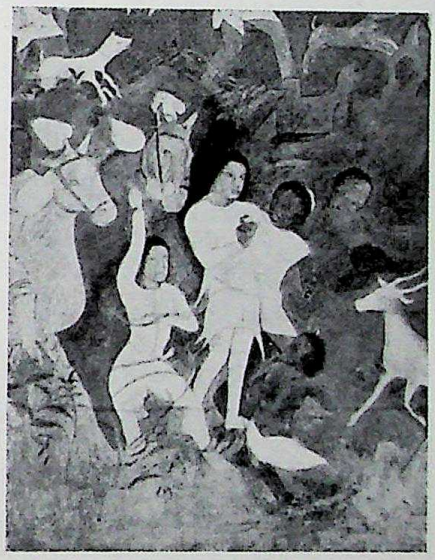


259. Scene from cave XVII.

260. Apsarasas.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

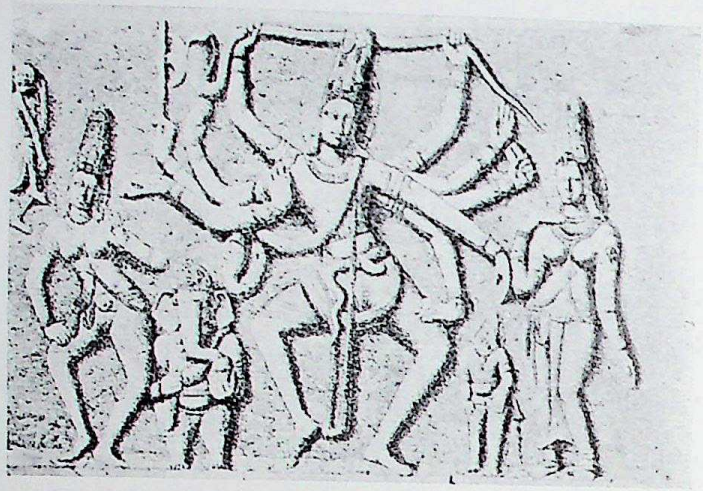
261. Apsarasas.



262. Departure of Bodhisattva.

263. Scene from cave XVII.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

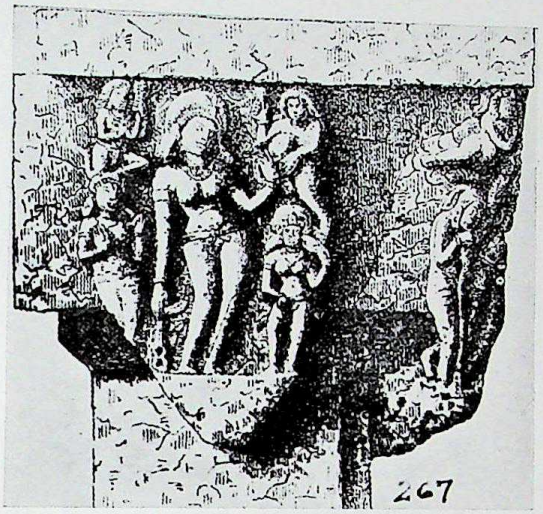


264. Siva dancing the Tandava.

265. Padmapani.

266. Domestic scene.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

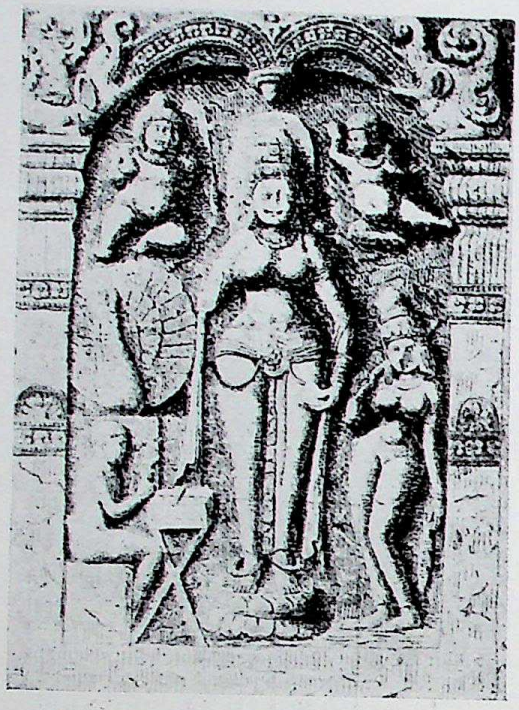


267. Scene from cave XVII.

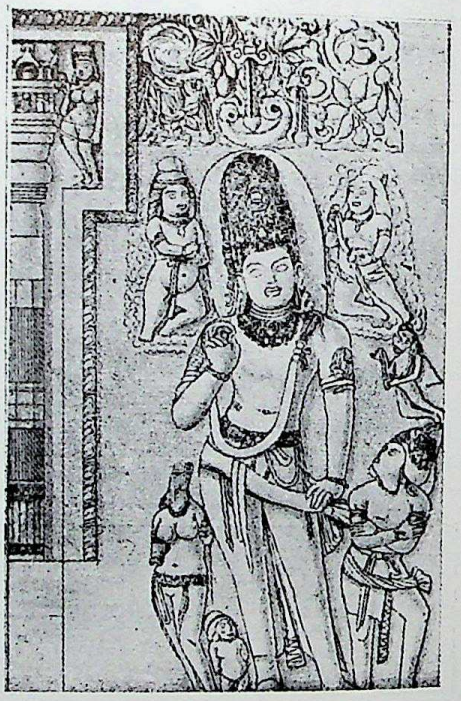
268. Siva.

269. Padmapani from Buddhist cave IV.

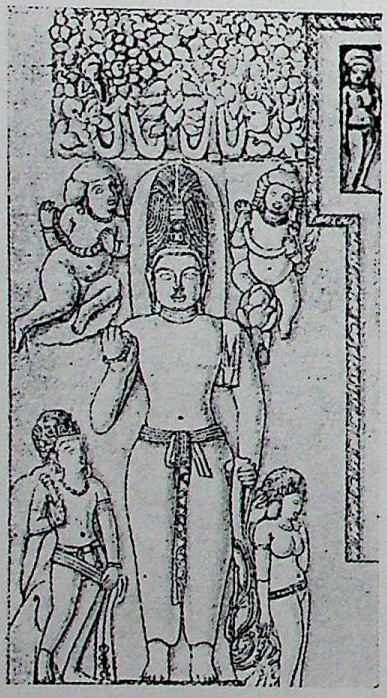
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



270. Scene from Buddhist cave IV.



271. Scene from Buddhist cave VI.



272. Same

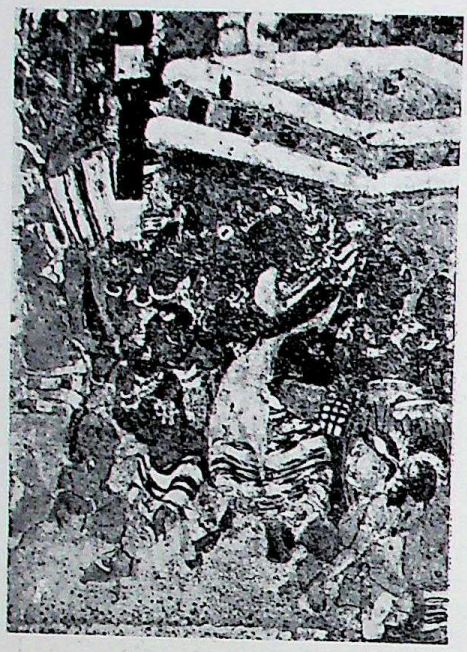
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

273. Naga chief.

274. Scene from cave I.

275. Preparation for a bath.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



276. Dance scene.

277. Lady from cave I.

278. Royal lady.

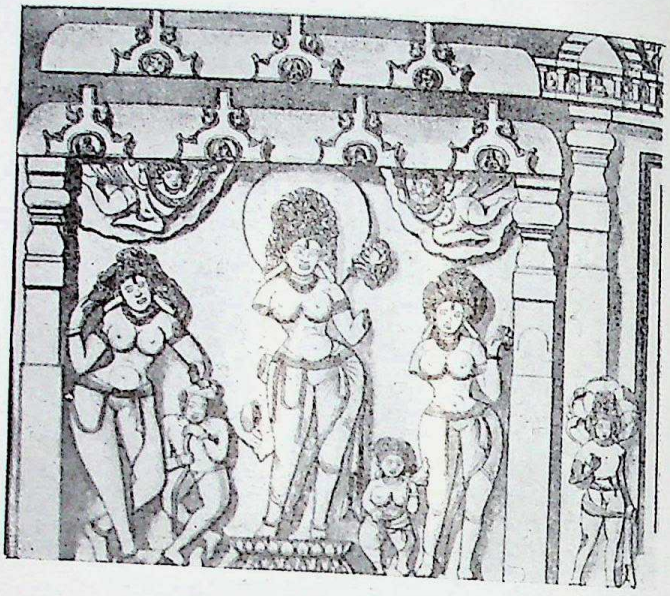
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

279. Lady from cave I.

280. Lady from cave II.

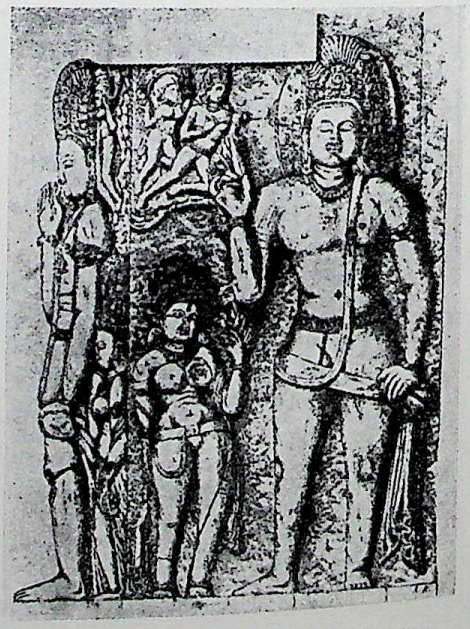
281. Lady on a swing.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



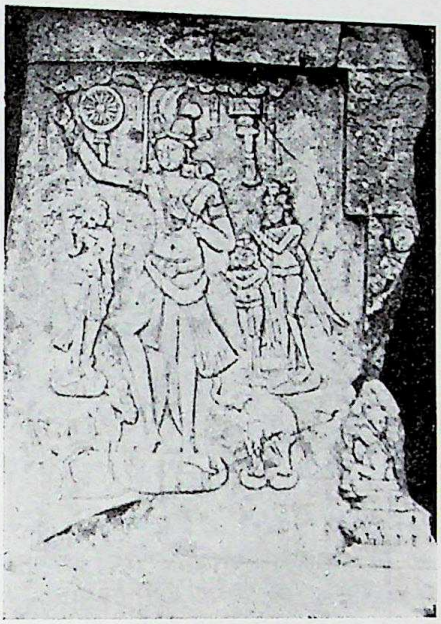
283. Sculpture from cave VII.

282. Male head-dresses from Ajanta.

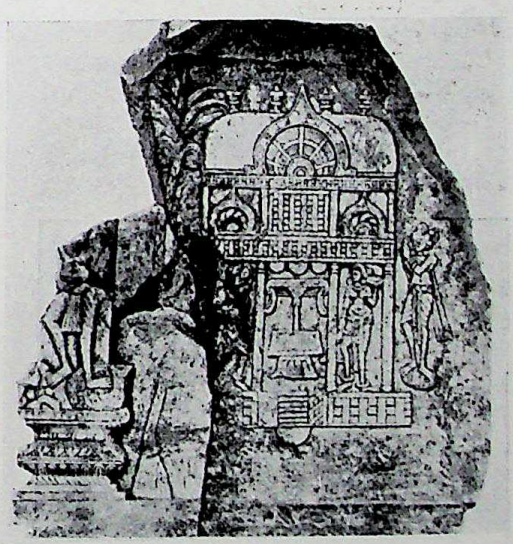


284. Sculpture from Brahmanic cave.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



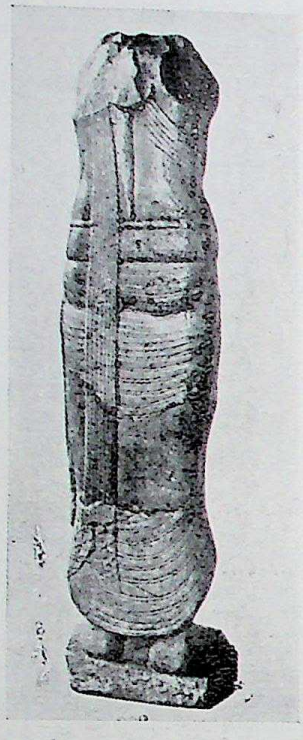
285. Cakravartin.



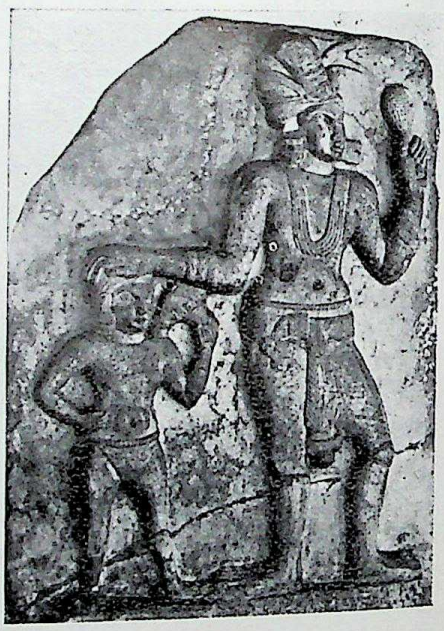
286. Scene from the Jaggayyapeta Stupa.

287. Statue of a king.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



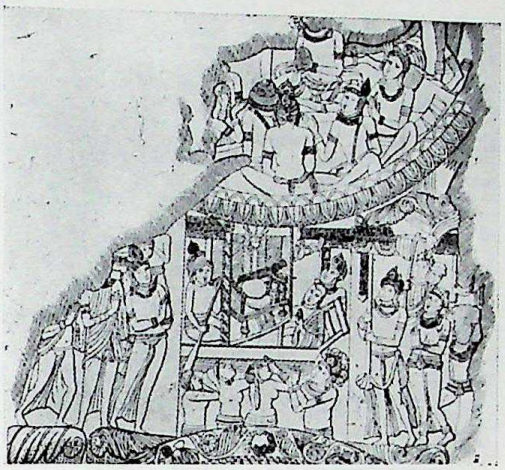
288. Statue of a king (back view).



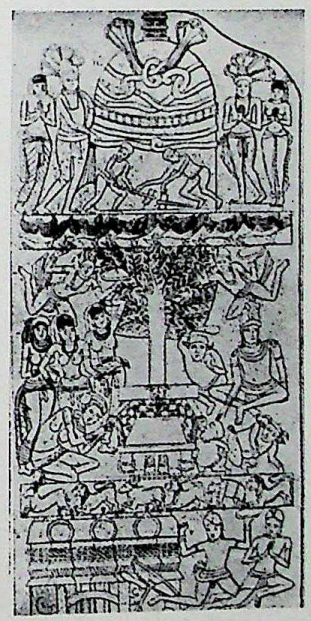
289. Man & boy.

290. A king & his wives.

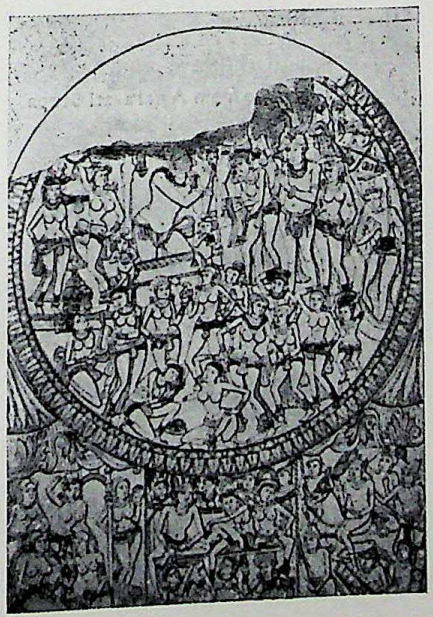
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



291. Scene from Amaravati Stupa.

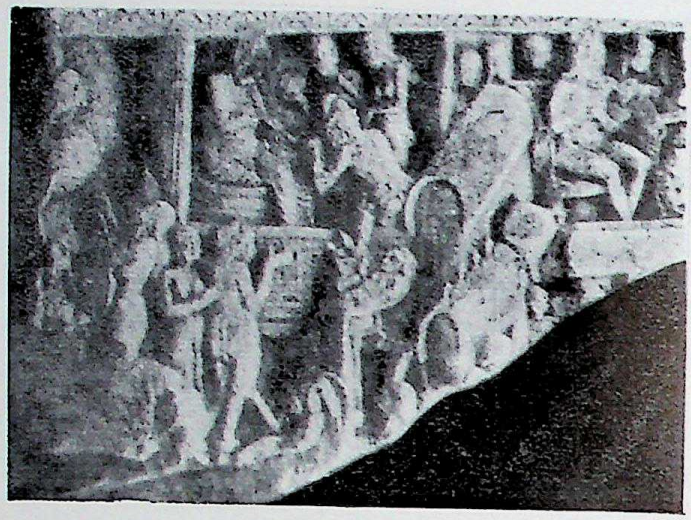


292. Scene from Amaravati Stupa.

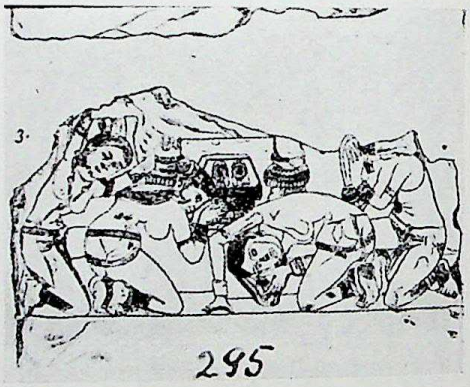


293. Scene from Amaravati Stupa.

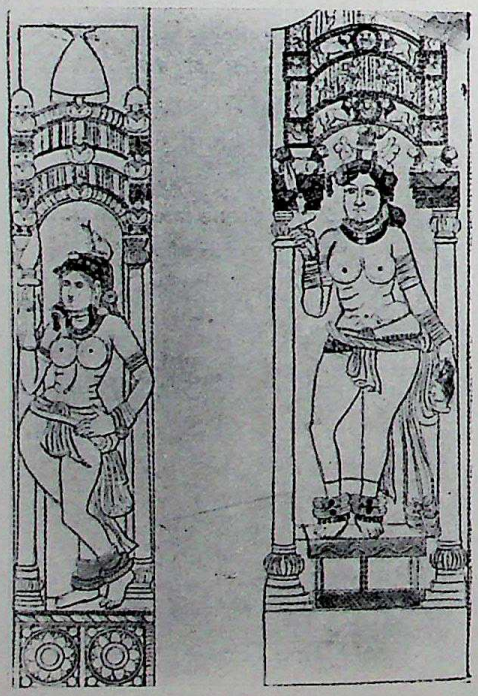
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



294. Scene with infant Gautama.



295. Scene from Amaravati Stupa.



296. Female figures.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

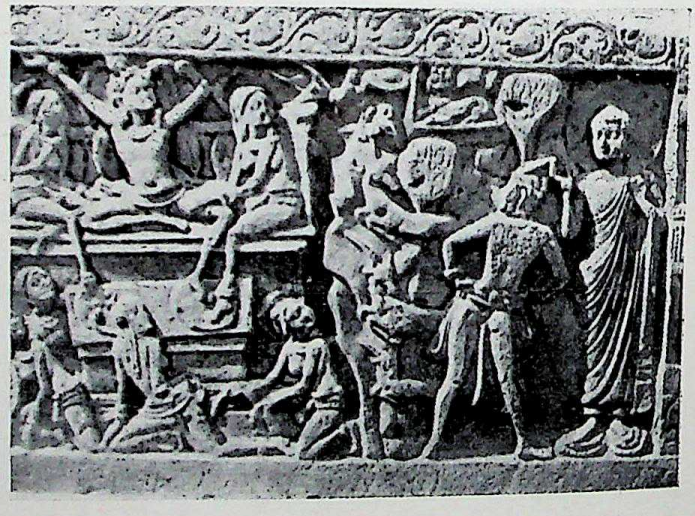
297. Scene from Amaravati Stupa.

298. Incident in Gautama's life.

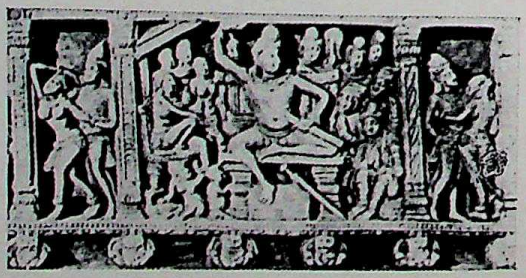
299. Female figure.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

300. King denouncing Brahmanism.



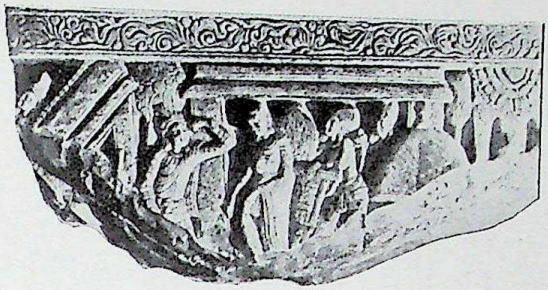
301. Scene of denunciation.



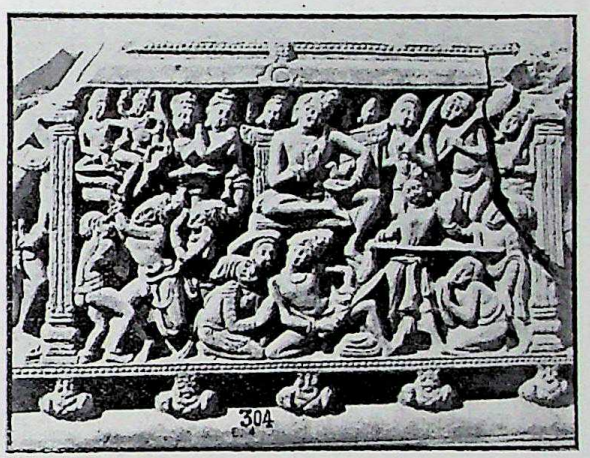
302. Scene from Nagarjunikonda Stupa.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

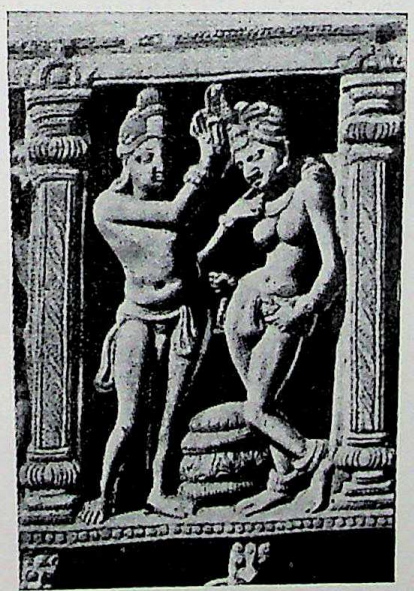
(303—305)



303. Palace scene.



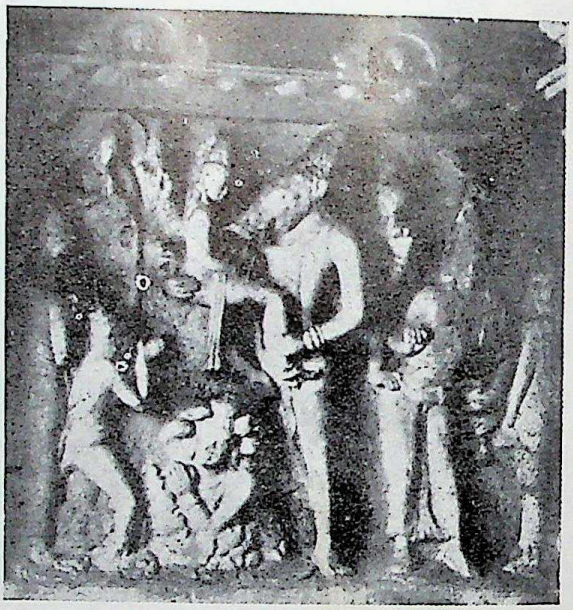
304. Sibi Jataka.



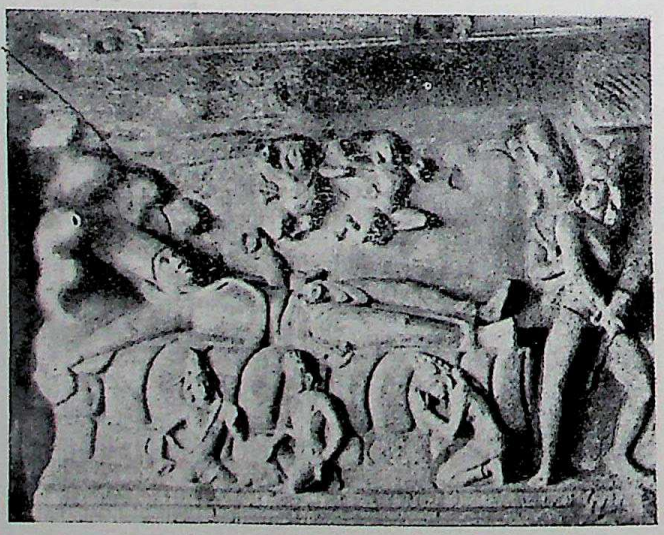
305. First sermon in the deer park.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

306. Ascetic carrying a pitcher.

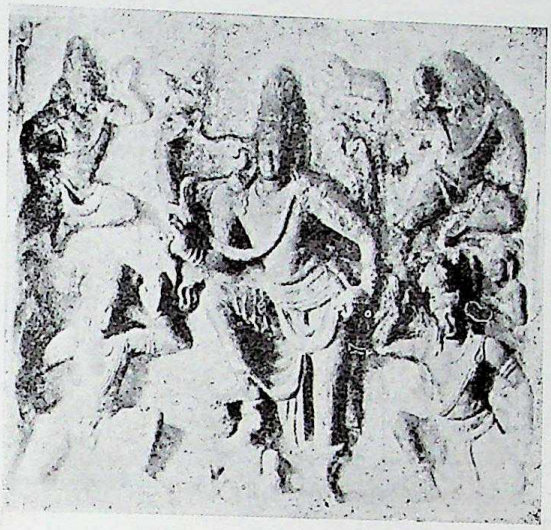


306 A.



307. Visnu - Anantasayin.

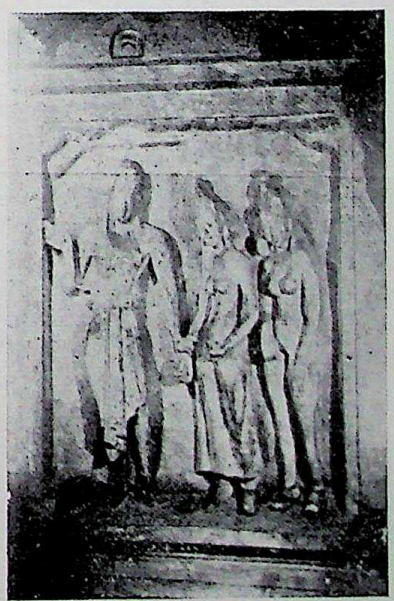
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



308. Siva

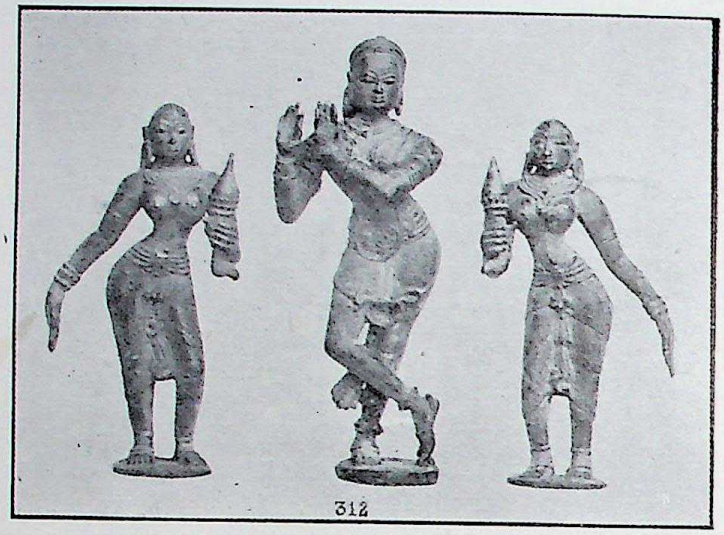
311. Figure of Kettan Adittan.

309. Simhavishnu & his queens.

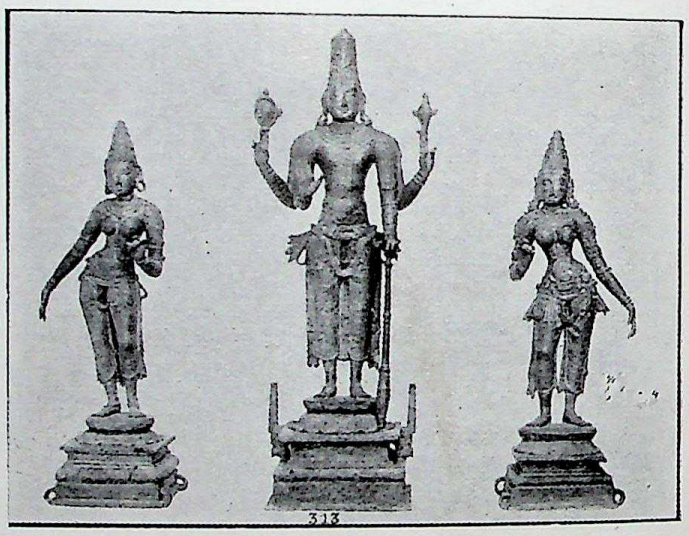


310. Mahendravarman & his queens.

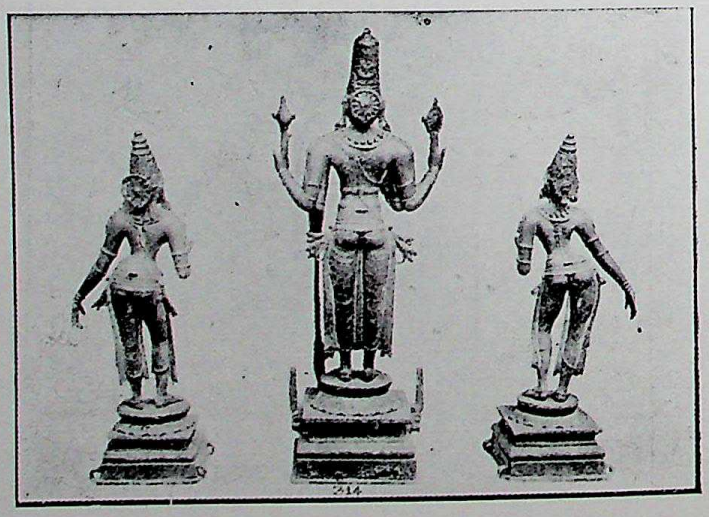
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



312. Venugopala with Rukmini & Satyabhama.

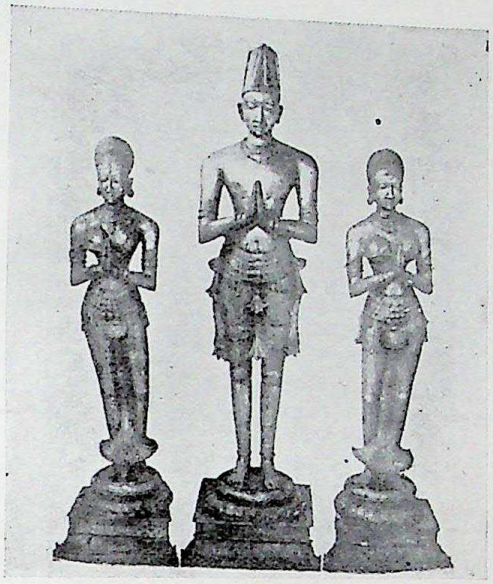


313. Visnu with consorts.

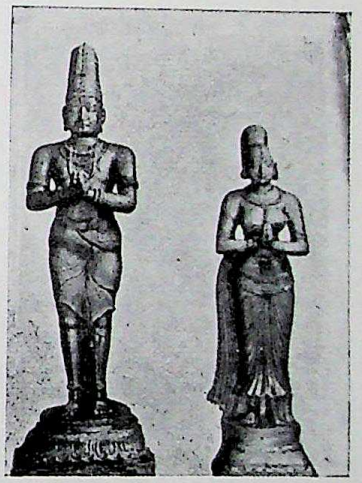


314. Same (back view).

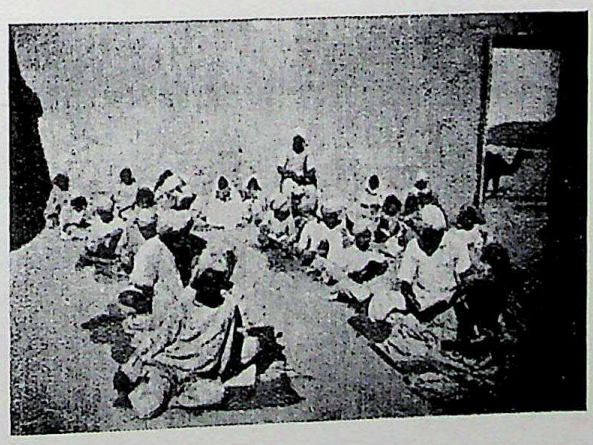
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



315. Krsna Raya & his queens.



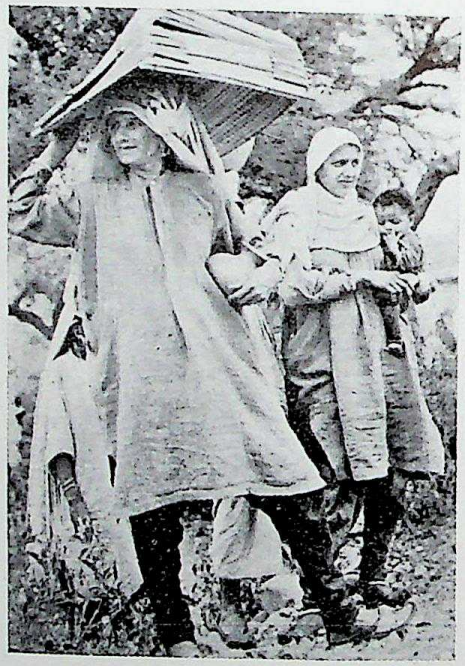
316. Tirumala Raya & his queen.



317. A village school scene.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

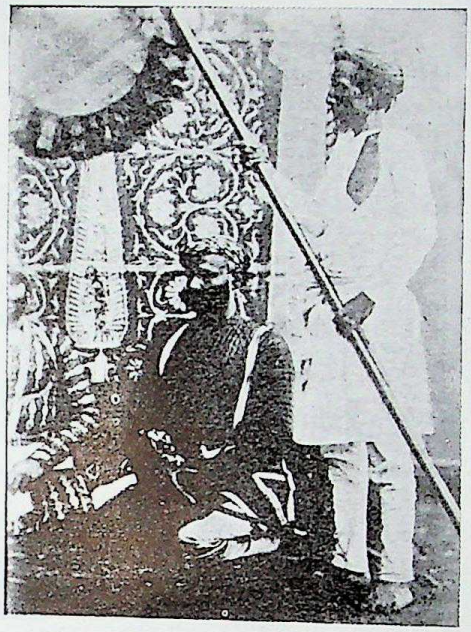
318. Ladies returning with produce from their field :



319. Gujar ladies from Kangra.

320. A peasant lady from Kulu.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

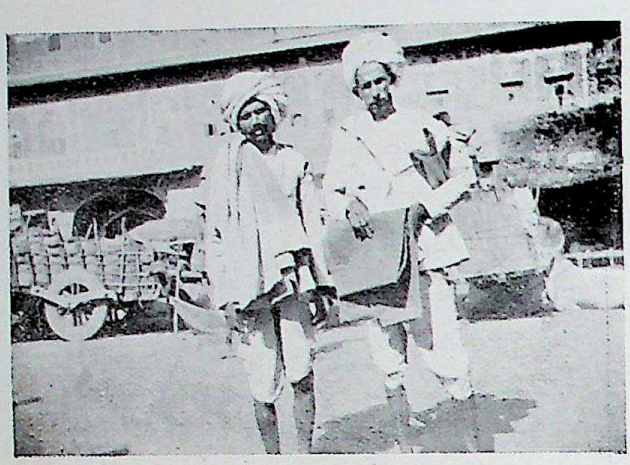


321. Jat Sirdars.

322. Jaipur bazaar scene 1.

323. Jaipur bazaar scene 2.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

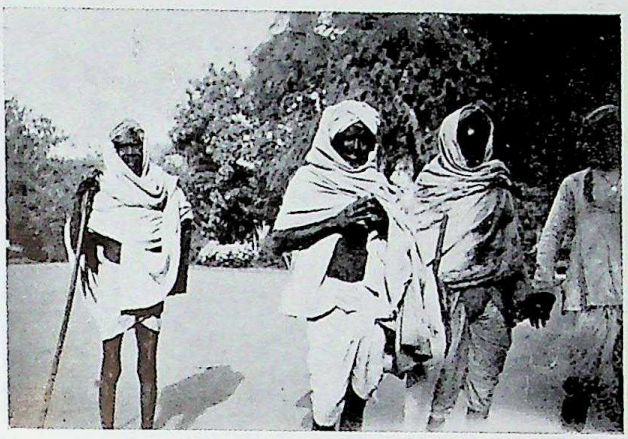


324. Jaipur bazaar scene 3.

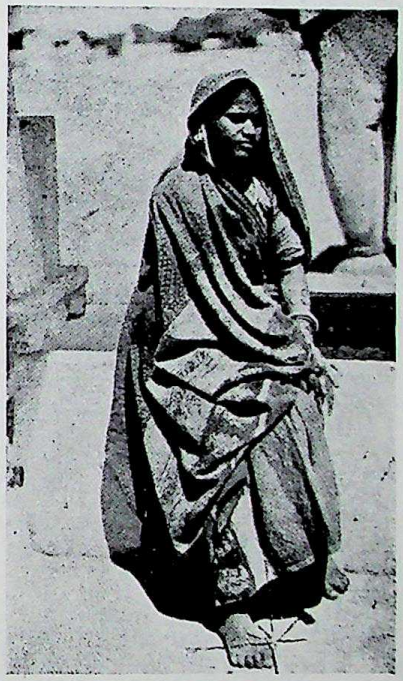
325. Jaipur bazaar scene 4.

326. Jaipur villagers.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



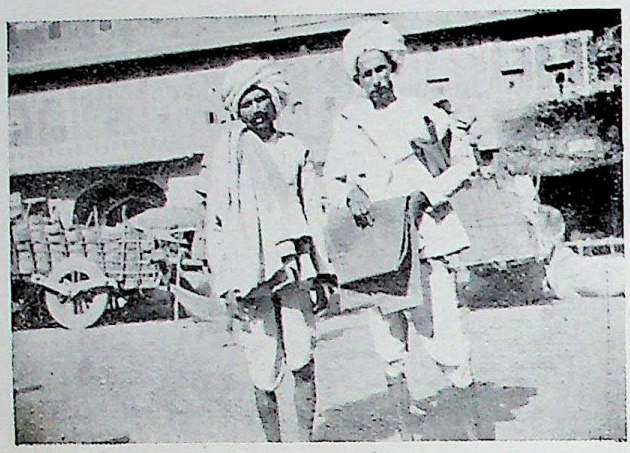
327. Jaipur villagers.



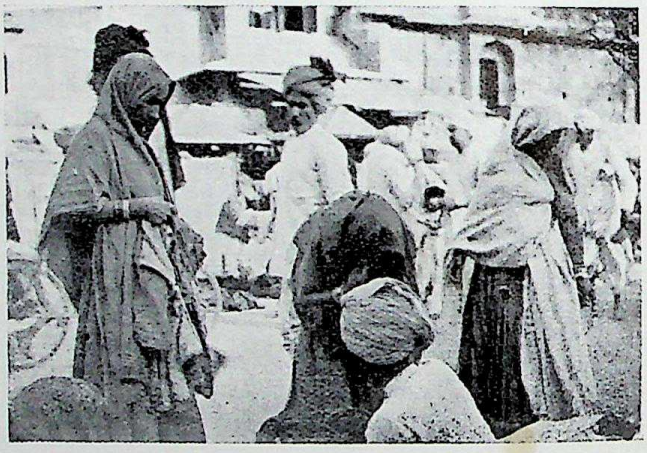
328. Rajput lady from Udaipur.

329. Marwari ladies

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



324. Jaipur bazaar scene 3.



325. Jaipur bazaar scene 4.

326. Jaipur villagers.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

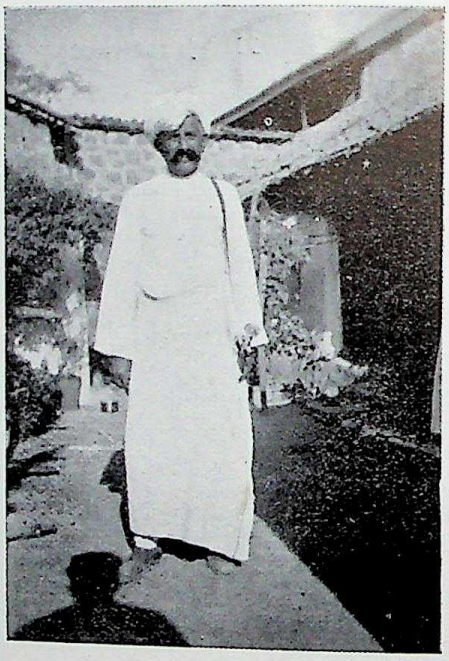
327. Jaipur villagers.

328. Rajput lady from Udaipur.

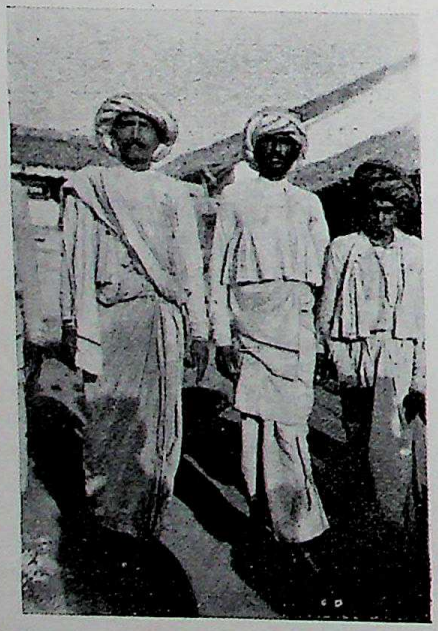
329. Marwari ladies

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

330. A Kathi 'durbar'.

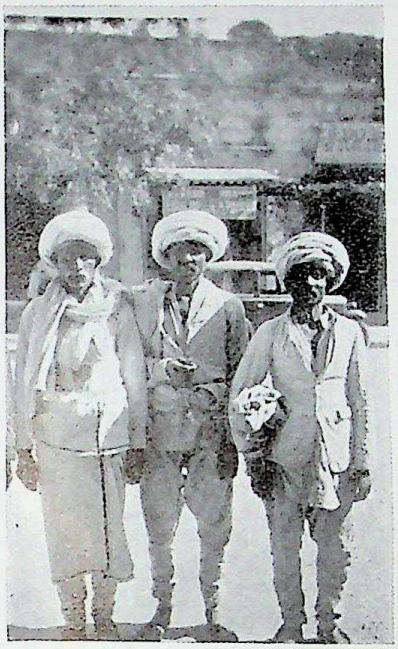


331. A Kathi 'grasia'.

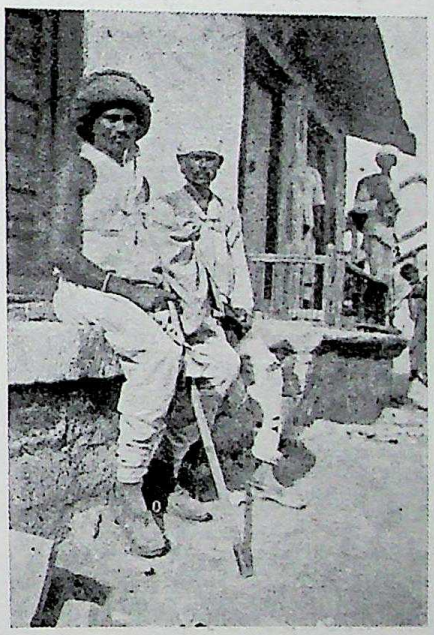


332. Kunbis.

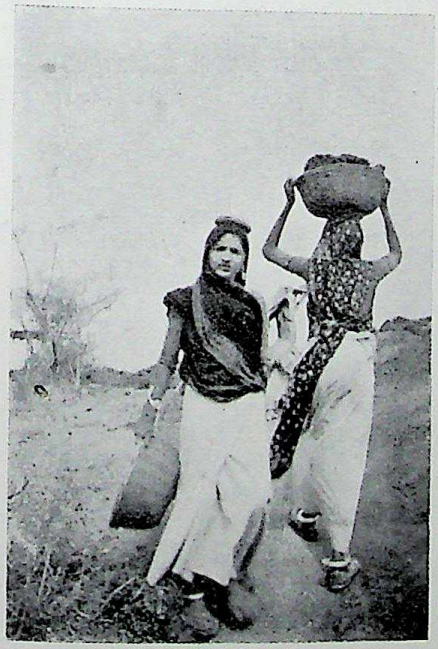
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



333. Jadeja Rajputs.



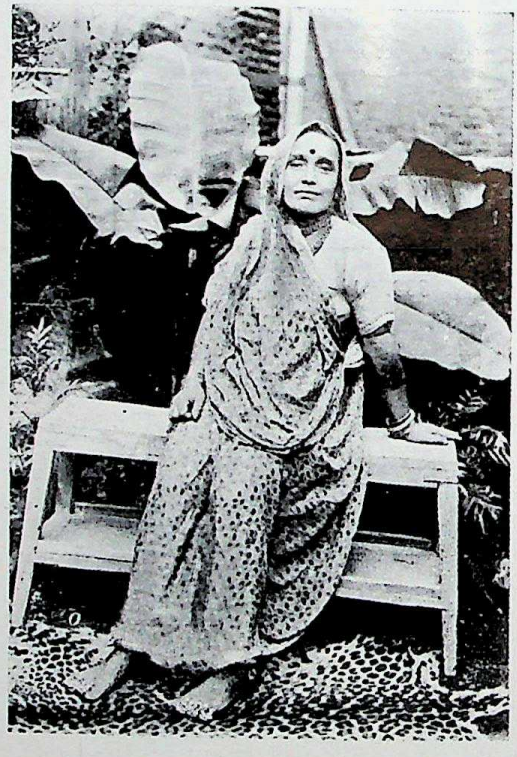
334. Kolis.



335. Koli ladies.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

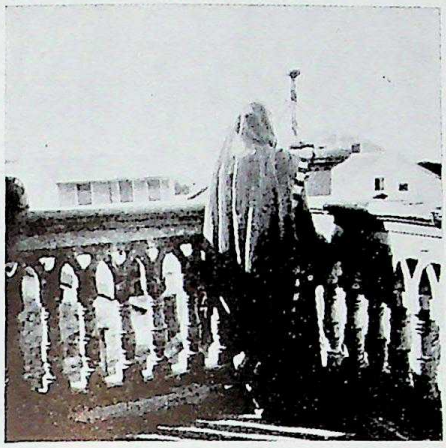
336. Koli lady carrying water.



337. A Brahmin lady.

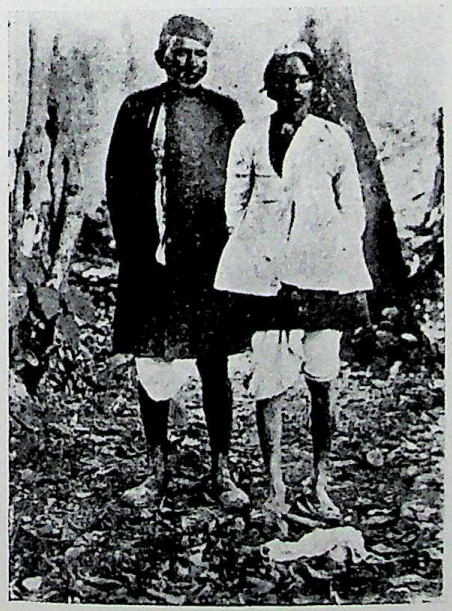
338. A Bania lady.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



338a. Same (back view).

339. A gentleman from Mathura.



340. Barbers.

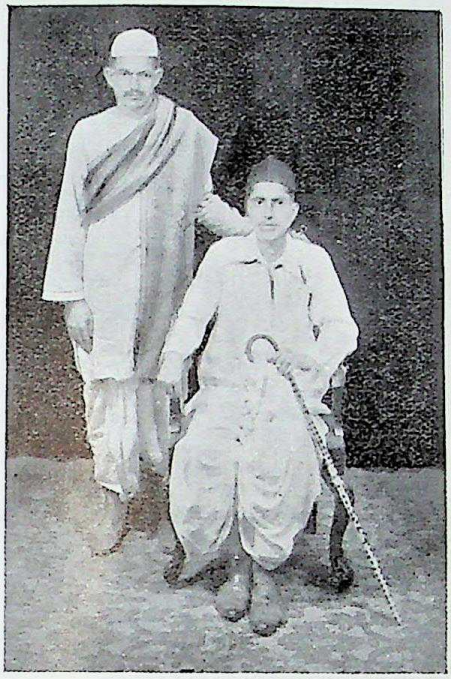
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

341. Mahabrahmans.

342. High class Brahmin from Bihar.

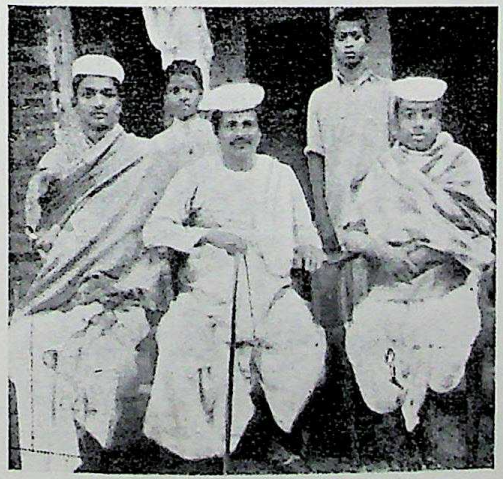
343. Zamindar from Bihar.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



344. Middle class gentlemen from Bihar.

345. A high class lady from Bihar.



346. Maithila Brahmins.

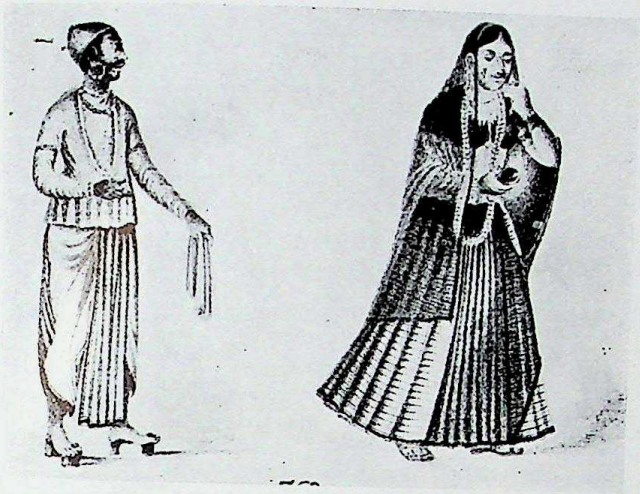
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

347. Middle class gentlemen.

348. Hindus of high rank.

349. Hindus of high rank.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



350. Hindus of high rank.

351. Winter dress.

353. A Ksatriya from Bengal.

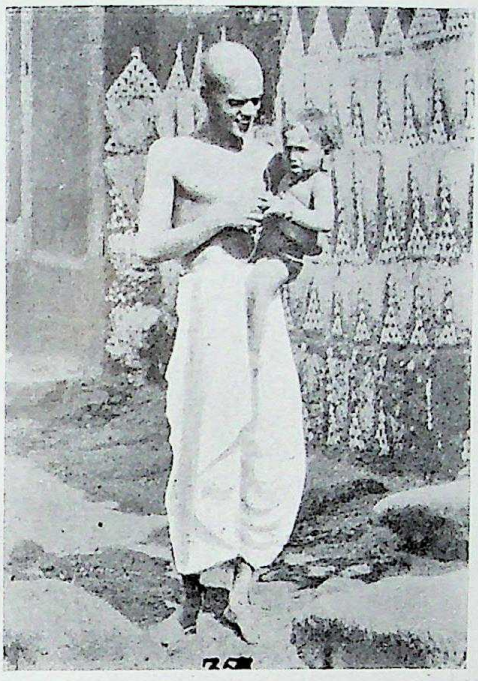
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

354. A middle class gentleman.

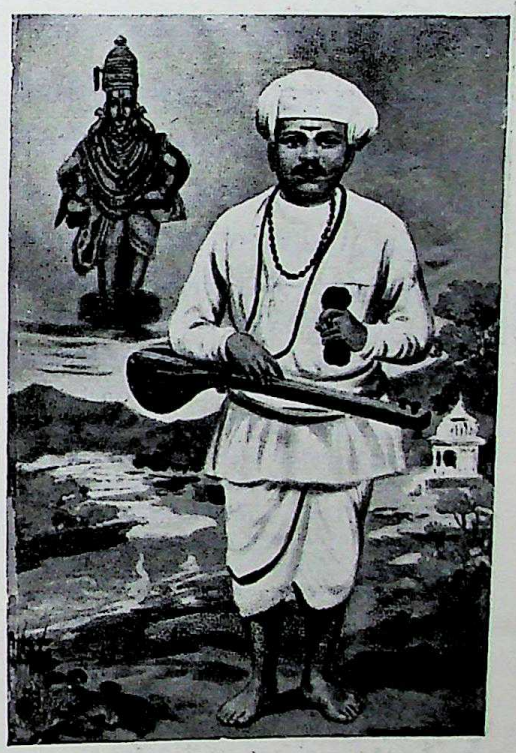
355. A Bengali lady.

356. A Brahmin from Orissa.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



357. A Brahmin from Orissa.



358. Traditional representation of Tukarama.

359. Representation of Rani Tarabai.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

360. Representation of Rani Laksmibai.

361. A Warli couple.

362. Chambhar (leather workers).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

363. Manga musicians.

364. Agri girl.

365. Sonkoli couple.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

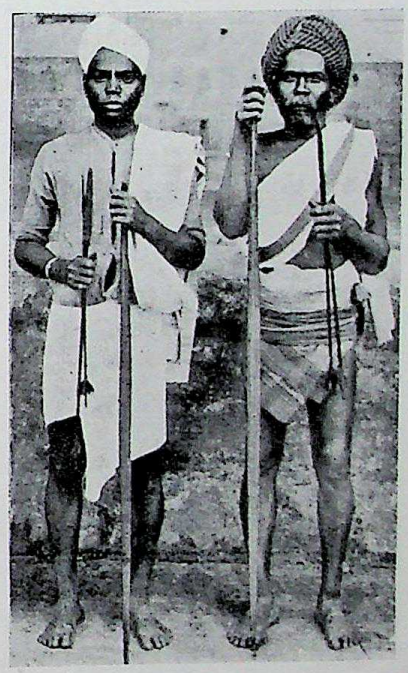
366. Naramdeo Brahmin males.

367. Smarta Brahmin women & children.

368. A Devanga family.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

369. A Lingayat gentleman.



370. Hasalars.

371. Andhra Brahmin in ceremonial dress.

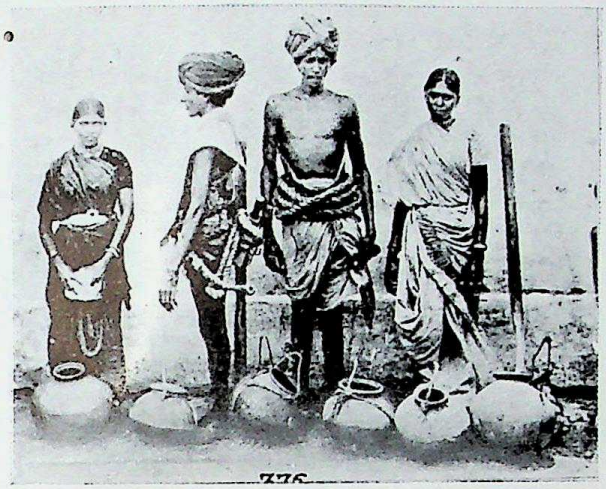
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

372. Panta Kapu (farmer) male.

373. Normal dress of middle class.

374. Same (back view).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



375. Gamalla males & females.

376. Brahmin female dress.

377. Same (front view).

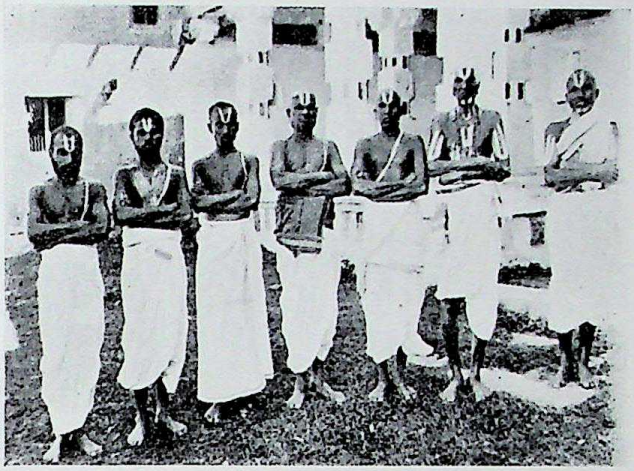
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

378. Same (side view).

379. Working class female.

380. Labour class male.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

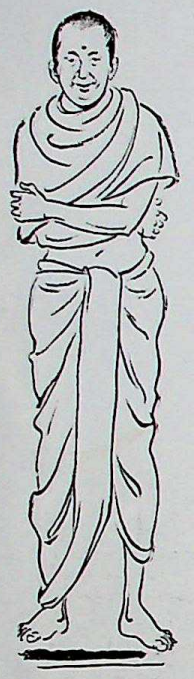


381. Sri Vaisnava Brahmins.

382. A Tamil Brahmin.

383. Same.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

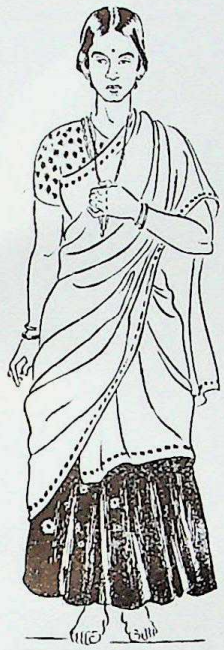


384. Same.

385. Iyer Brahmin lady.

386. Iyengar Brahmin lady.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



387. A Brahmin girl.

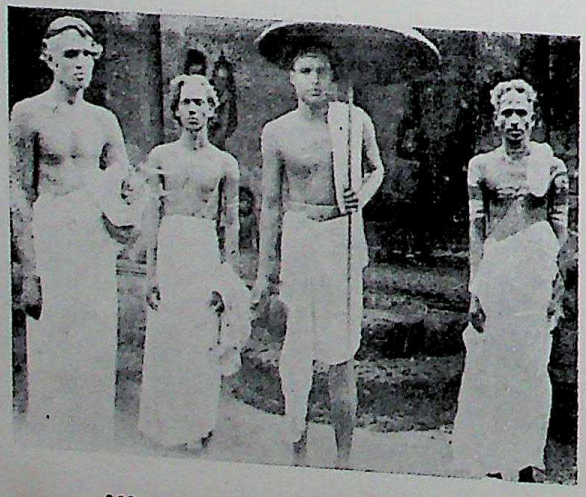
388. A Kallan lady.

389. A Kadar lady.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

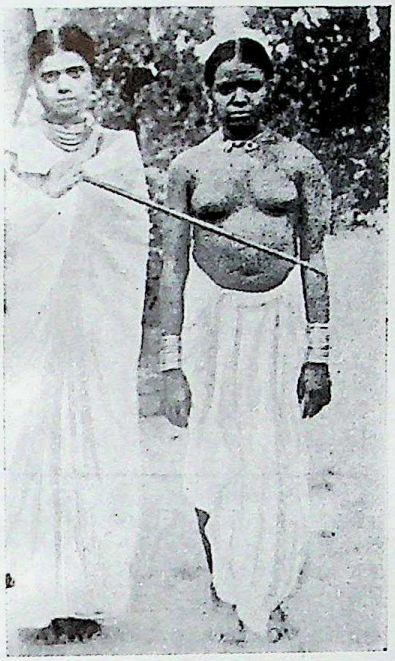
390. A Kadar lady (back view).

391. Discouraged mode of temale w ar



392. Nambudri Brahmin gentlemen.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



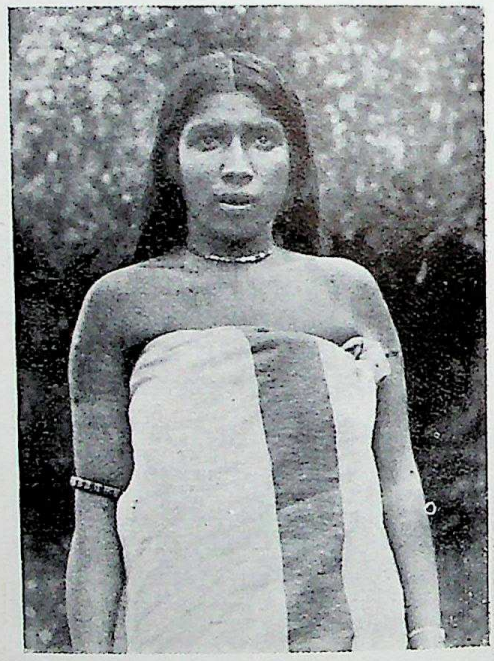
393. Nambudri Brahmin ladies.

394. Nayar ladies.

395. A Nayar lady.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

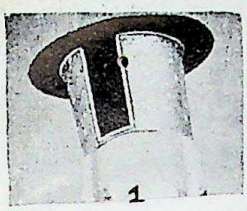
396. Same (back view).

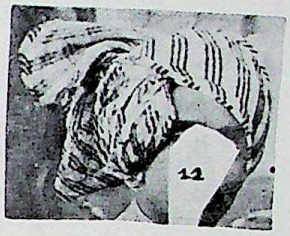


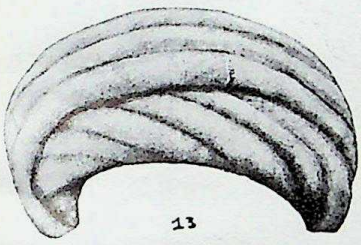
397. A Toda lady.

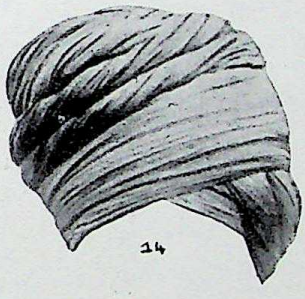
398. Same (back view).

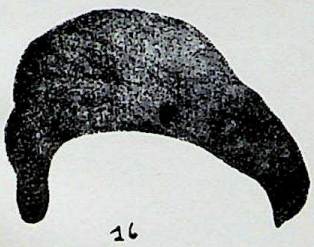
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

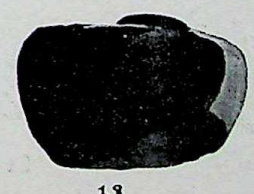


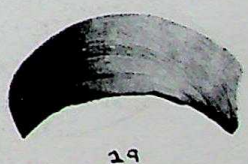


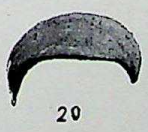


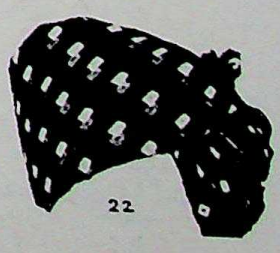








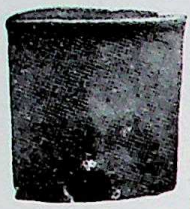




399. (1–22) Head-dress.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

(399 continued)



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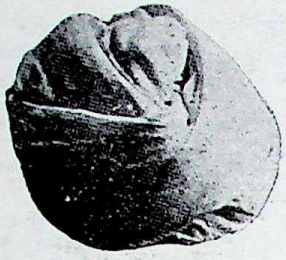

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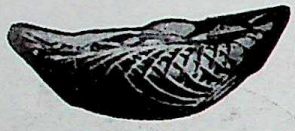

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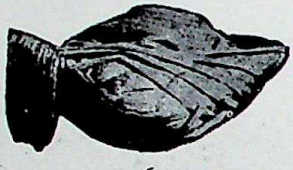

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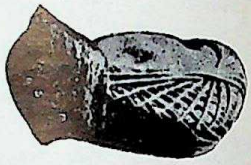
27



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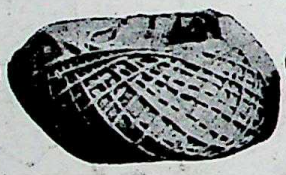

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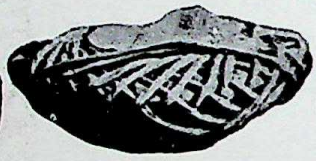
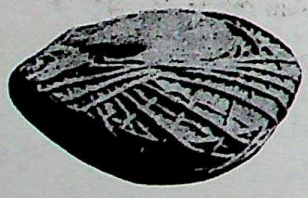


31

32



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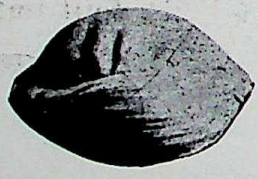
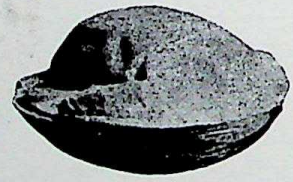


34



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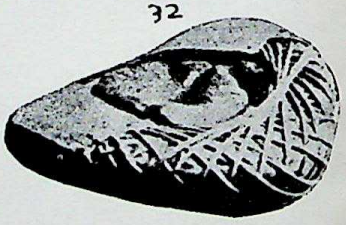

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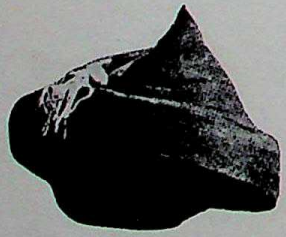

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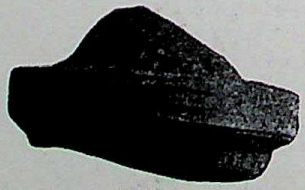

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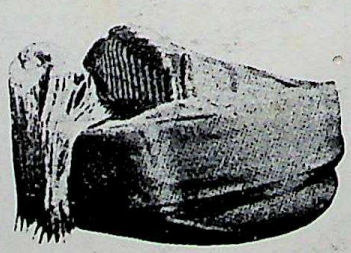

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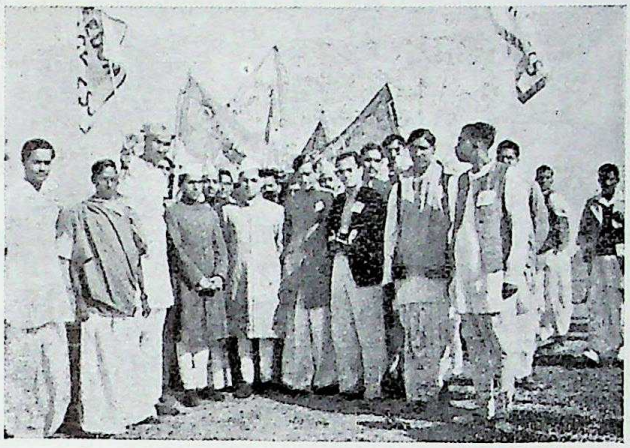
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



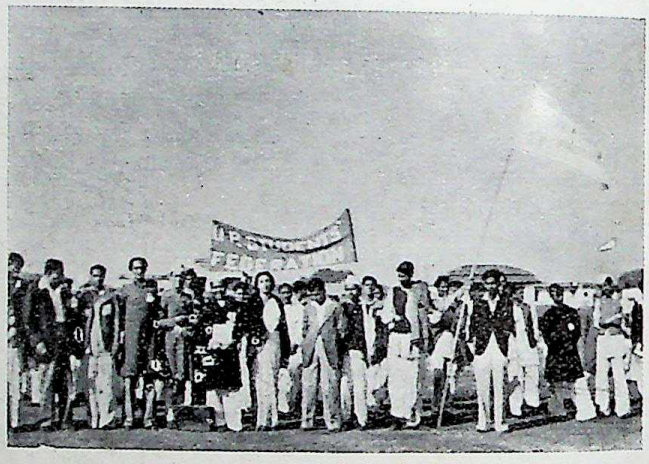
400. Students' Federation Conference, General.

401. S. F. C., Andhra contingent.

402. S. F. C., Bengal contingent.

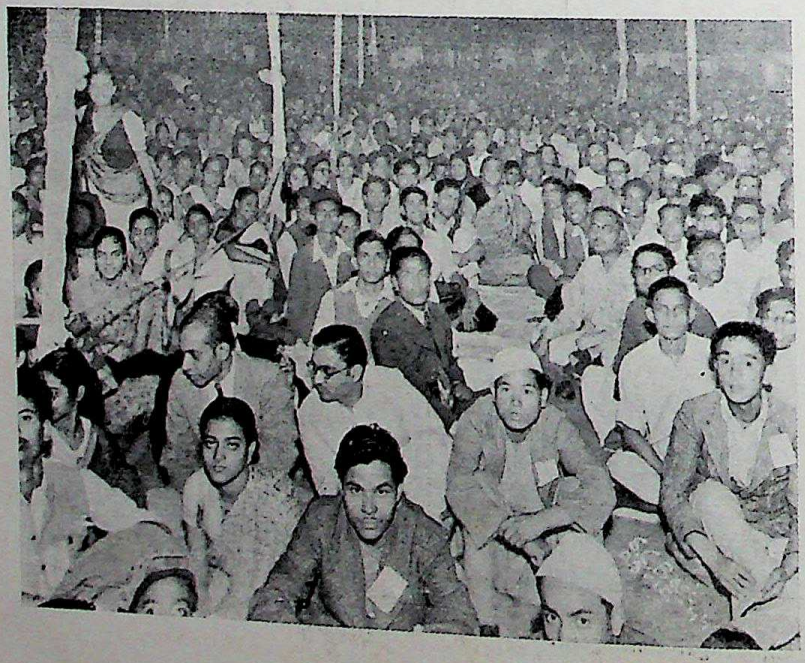
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

403. S. F. C., Cochin contingent.

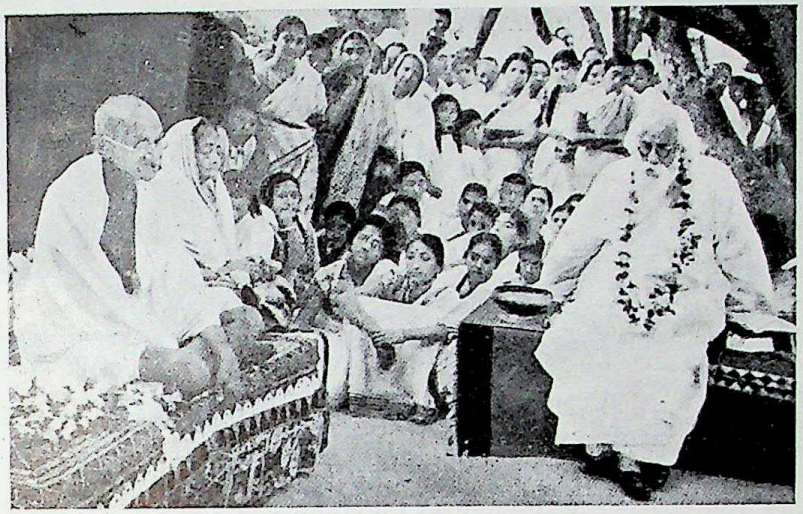


404. S. F. C., U. P. contingent.

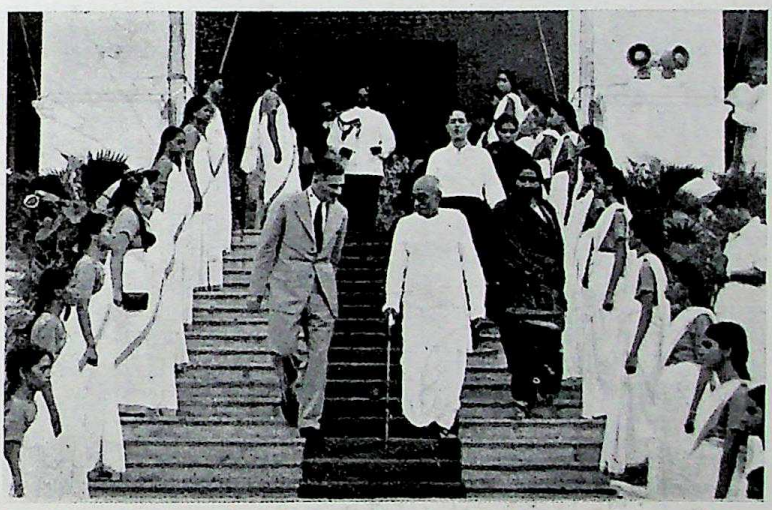
405. S. F. C., session with Sarojini Naidu.



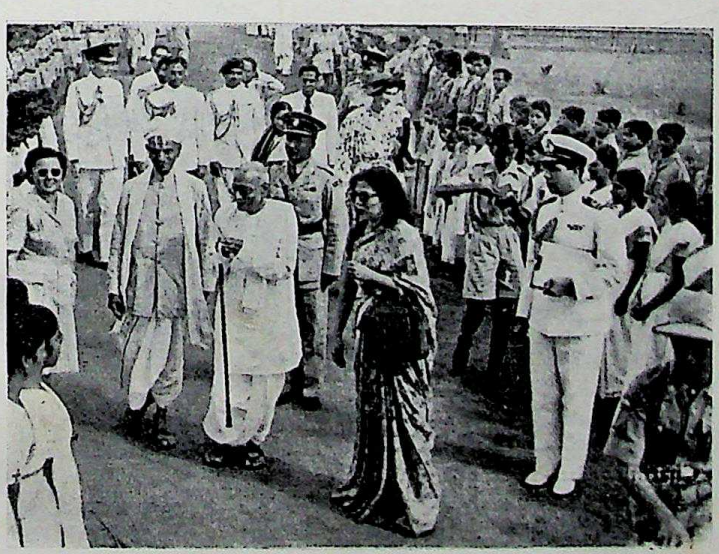
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



406. Mahatma Gandhi, Kasturba Gandhi & Ravindranath Tagore.



407. H. E. the Governor-General Cakravati Rajagopalachari at Madras.



408. Same

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(409—412)

Charming Sari-blouses & new cholees.

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